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An introduction explaining the need for a workshop on the juvenile court and vocational rehabilitation opens this conference report. Papers presented include "Educational Aspects of Delinquency: Its Implications for Vocational Rehabilitation" by William C. Kvaraceus, "Psychological Aspects of Delinquency: Implications for Vocational Rehabilitation" by Joseph L. Massimo, "Some Sociological Aspects of Delinquency: Implications for Vocational Rehabilitation" by Stephen Schafer, "Legal Aspects of Delinquency: Juvenile Courts and Vocational Rehabilitation" by Ted Rubin, and "The Juvenile Court and Vocational Rehabilitation: Possibilities of Corporative Relationships" by Dorothy Singer. A section on "Practical Applications: Successful Programs in Rehabilitating the Delinquent" includes descriptions of the Family Court in Rhode Island and the Springfield Goodwill Industries Program. A brief commentary precedes each paper or section. The appendix lists workshop planning committee members, speakers, and participants. (LE)

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Curriculum Materials
Developed from a Conference on

The Juvenile Court And Vocational Rehabilitation

Edited by
Reuben J. Margolin

DEPARTMENT OF REHABILITATION AND SPECIAL EDUCATION

NORTHEASTERN UNIVERSITY
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

In collaboration with

Rehabilitation Service Administration

of the

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

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(NOW PART OF SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE)
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

Why A Workshop on the Juvenile Court and Vocational Rehabilitation?

In many respects the workshop on the Juvenile Court and Vocational Rehabilitation was a pioneering venture. For one thing, it signalized in no uncertain terms that the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration was ready to take on the challenge that was confronting America with mounting delinquency manifestations. It was also a significant first step in bringing together key professional people from rehabilitation and the juvenile court to examine the problems of delinquency and to make recommendations for the rehabilitation of delinquent youth.

Two vital factors were responsible for the emergence and the success of this workshop. One was the persistent willingness of the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration to chart new Programs to meet new needs. Certainly through the medium of P.L. 565 of 1965, the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration had a tool possessed by no other health and welfare agency -- a tool which provides the security and anchorage in life (which makes it so necessary in converting) youth from pathologic delinquency to socially and economically useful citizens. Through the Federal-State program of Vocational Rehabilitation a variety of measures such as testing, couseling, physical restoration and psychiatric services, training, education, and job placement were also available to help make the rehabilitation plan a reality.

The other vital factor was the increasing sense of social responsibility reflected in the duties carried out by the juvenile court judges and likewise by the probation officers. It seems natural to perceive the juvenile court judge as someone with a tremendous amount of power, who sits in judgment of some unfortunate youth caught in a tangled web of circumstances. To some extent, this is true, but it is more appropriate to regard the judge's role as one in which all the pertinent data regarding the youth's behavior and background is carefully weighed and evaluated in order to determine what is best for the youngster's healthy growth and development. As one juvenile court judge with penetrating insight remarked when discussing one of the cases under his charge, he did not wish to sentence an exceptionally bright boy to industrial school for fear that it would commit him to a life of crime. Another judge describing the case of a mentally retarded youth who came before him repeatedly for minor thefts sagely commented that punitive measures were unworkable for this boy because he did not realize what he was doing, nor did he intend harm to anyone. Such a youngster he felt would be better off in a rehabilitation program with sheltered work offerings. With such forward-looking thinking the climate was ripe for a workshop of this type based upon a foundation of cooperative effort.

Northeastern University was very pleased to have the opportunity for co-sponsoring this workshop with the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. Previous co-sponsored institutes and workshops led to many fruitful relationships in diverse facets of rehabilitation. The purpose of this workshop was for vocational rehabilitation personnel, juvenile court judges, and probation officers to become more knowledgeable of the characteristics, the rehabilitation needs and current program development of those youthful offenders handicapped by a physical or mental disability. It was indended that this workshop would provide for an exchange of information between judges, probation officers, and vocational rehabilitation persons and would be the impetus for cooperative relationships between the division of vocational rehabilitation and the juvenile courts.

Attendance to the institute was by invitation. The Planning Committee blocked out the key geographical areas in New England to which the invitations should be issued. It was also decided that from any one location a team of three should receive an invitation - namely a juvenile court judge, a probation officer, and a rehabilitation counselor. Research documents the idea that the team approach has a greater impact in the back home situation. Seven such teams accepted our invitation, and a total of thirty people attended the institute. The remaining nine participants were composed of school adjustment counselors, child welfare workers, and members of our planning committee.

In planning the program, the committee felt very strongly that there should be both a conceptual and a pragmatic tinge. Bridging the gap between theory and practice was considered essential for successful vocational rehabilitation. Thus, the format for the program included both position papers and reports of successful programs in rehabilitating delinquents. Resource persons embraced specialists in both delinquency and rehabilitation.

In regards to the position papers, the planning committee expressed the sentiment that legal, educational, sociological, and psychological authorities in the field of delinquency could provide us with a broad understanding of the dynamics of delinquency, thus enabling us to determine how these disciplines may have implications for Vocational Rehabilitation. There was little concern that these experts were relatively unfamiliar with the process of vocational rehabilitation. Their participation in the institute was considered important for three reasons. 1) It would provide a firm conceptual foundation for vocational rehabilitation programs in delinquency. 2) It would highlight the need for an interdisciplinary approach to solving problems of delinquency. 3) It would orient the presenting experts from these other disciplines to the field of vocational rehabilitation and its potential for rehabilitating delinquents.

Thus the position papers, though excellent treatises, reflect, with one exception, minimal understanding of the complexities and the broad scope of the vocational rehabilitation programs. The introductory commentaries preceding each position paper are an attempt to link the broad general conceptual formulations to the specifics of vocational rehabilitation.

The presentation of successful approaches to the rehabilitation of the delinquent greatly stimulated the participants and served to charge them with optimism for the future. Although the literature is scarce on successful programs in working with delinquents, these presentations underscored the success potential when vocational rehabilitation became a member of the team. Three different approaches were graphically and comprehensively depicted: a) a half-way house program under the sponsorship of the juvenile court in Denver, Colorado, b) a cooperative relationship between a state vocational rehabilitation agency and a family court in Rhode Island, c) a community program by Goodwill Industries in Springfield, Massachusetts. Unfortunately, the papers cannot possibly authentically reproduce vivid enthusiasm of the panel members in their intimate discussion of their programs.

Finally, a statement by a representative from the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration on the far-reaching possibilities of the 1965 Vocational Rehabilitation amendments put the objectives of the institute in perspective.

It became quite clear that the kinds of programs and cooperative relationships that can be developed are limited only by the ingenuity of those developing them. This latter point is crucial. The judges, most of them hearing about the amendments for the the first time, displayed virginal enthusiasm over the implications of the amendments for their work with delinquents. Some rehabilitation counselors, however, nearly destroyed this emerging ebullience by asserting that the ideas expressed by the juvenile court people were unworkable within the limits of the law. Mark Twain once said that pessimism is only the name that men of weak nerves give to wisdom. Speaking in this light, an official from the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration cautioned these reluctant counselors that they seemed to be more inflexible than the law intended them to be.

It is unfortunate that not all that goes on in a conference can be captured and put into print. The discussions following each of the presentations were priceless. A serious omission of this publication is the healthy exchange that occurred in these discussions and the vital issues that were raised. Informal "bull sessions" also had their value. Undoubtedly no one will ever forget the outstanding spontaneous expressions of opinion on "glue sniffing" that predominated the convivial session in the local night club after the formal sessions were concluded for the day.

Whether this workshop has had any real or enduring impact it is difficult to determine at this time. Following the workshop at least two judges have made some exploratory efforts to get together with their state rehabilitation agency. We suspect also that judges and probation officers will make greater use of their state rehabilitation agencies as a resource. At any rate we hope that readers of this publication will find the materials within it valuable sources for in-service training and classroom teaching. Cooperative relationships between the juvenile court and the state vocational rehabilitation agencies are only in their incipient phases. Perhaps the constructive use of these curriculum materials will contribute an optimistic note to a future of much needed extended developments between these two agencies.

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Chapter II

Educational Aspects of Delinquency: Its Implications for Vocational Rehabilitation

by William C. Kvaraceus

Commentary

In this paper Dr. Kvaraceus points out the significance of the school as a central resource in dealing with problems of delinquency. He cautions, however, against the delusion that school programs can be a panacea. Three basic factors are underlined in school programs which can help it become an effective agent of delinquency prevention:

1. Striving towards being a better school. In this way the school can provide a therapeutic climate for the growth and development of healthy personalities.
2. Spotting and helping potential delinquents.
3. Aiding in the rehabilitation of those youngsters already delinquent by working closely with the police, probation, court, and clinic.

The paper calls our attention to the danger that strong school and community pressures for pupil excellence may lead to a neglect of the deviant or the poor learner in order to preserve the academic reputation of the school. Kvaraceus stresses the significance of what he calls the vocational rehabilitation program in providing the therapeutic climate necessary for those pupils needing special help. He tends to equate vocational education with vocational rehabilitation but actually they represent two distinct programs. Vocational education is an integral aspect of the school's curriculum. Vocational rehabilitation, on the other hand, is the responsibility of a

State rehabilitation agency with emphasis on encouraging the individual to become a socially and economically useful citizen commensurate with his abilities and disabilities. However, the point that he makes is equally applicable to both programs: namely, that the school must be concerned with all pupils, even norm violators. This means that the objectives of character development, worthy use of leisure, vocational training, worthy family membership, civic and social competency must be for all pupils.

Herein lies the basic challenge of the schools which have direct implications for Vocational Rehabilitation.

Finally, Kvaraceus stresses the idea that the school must procure and maintain certain special and essential services for those youngsters manifesting learning difficulties or emotional disturbances which may be a prelude to delinquency. He states that the school must not hesitate to call for assistance upon the school nurse, school doctor, guidance counselor, psychologist and case worker. He even sees the need for a new kind of professional, a social analyst, someone who would help us understand the social and cultural currents in the community. Unfortunately, there is no mention of the need for a rehabilitation counselor in this process. Such a person is ideally equipped to work with the school, especially in those situations where delinquency has been identified as maladjusted behavior and as needing some therapeutic intervention. There has been an increasing trend for State rehabilitation agencies to establish cooperative agreements with systems to rehabilitate physically and mentally handicapped pupils preparing either for a college career or a job in the community. Through these cooperative agreements the rehabilitation counselor works very closely with the school and provides the handicapped student with therapeutic services necessary to assure a productive life. Kvaraceus urges that the school improve its partnership role within the total cummunity complex of health and welfare agencies. Initiating a cooperative relationship with the State vocational rehabilitation agency is a good place to start, especially as it concerns the rehabilitation of the delinquent.

Educational Aspects of Delinquency:
Its Implications for Vocational Rehabilitation[1]

In mobilizing community forces for prevention and control of juvenile delinquency, the social planner intuitively looks to the school as a major--if not central--resource. The schools have all the children of all the people; they receive the child early and maintain a close and intimate relationship with him for an extended period of time; they have trained personnel to deal with children and youth; they aim to develop integrated and socially effective citizens; they are found in every community; and they still enjoy the active support of the community at large.

The temptation is ever-present to make of the school an omnibus agency to serve any community endeavor. The school, as one agency, cannot hope to be everything to every child. The school is not a hospital; it is not a clinic; it is not a community warehouse for disturbed or disturbing children and youth; nor is it an adolescent ghetto or limbo. The unique and special role of the school is to be found in its teaching-learning function aimed at agreed upon objectives.

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[1] This paper has been based in large part on earlier research and writings of the author. A recent publication, Anxious Youth: Dynamics of Delinquency (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc.,1966) expands the points of view expressed in this paper. Acknowledgment is made also to earlier publications including: Juvenile Delinquency: A Problem for the Modern World, Paris: UNESCO, 1964; Forecasting Juvenile Delinquency, New York; Harcourt, Brace and World,Inc.,1956; The Community and the Delinquent, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World,Inc., 1954; and Juvenile Delinquency and the School, New York; Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1945.

Educational Aspects of Delinquency

Keeping in focus this unique and special function and recognizing the fact that most of the delinquents' difficulties stem from forces and antecedents outside the school, just what can be expected of the school staff in community programs aimed at curbing delinquency? What is the potential role of the classroom teacher, the school administrator, and the school counselor? In answering these questions, I shall try to avoid listing educationally irrelevant duties and activities for unsuspecting but willing school administrators and teachers in the name of delinquency prevention and control.

The school picture of the delinquent youngster, as reported in the controlled studies, has generally revealed him standing in bad school posture, if not in educational bankruptcy. His report card shows many failures; he is over-age for his grade; his attitudes toward school are negative and heavily charged with hate; he changes schools frequently; he is caught and squeezed in the academic vise of a book-centered curriculum for which he has little intellectual promise and less interest, with the result that he becomes the teacher's worst motivational problem; he intends to leave school as soon as the law will allow, or sooner; and he is frequently truant in a temporary recess from his unsatisfactory, frustrating, and degrading school situation. While he represents a severe headache to the school, the school represents an even greater headache to him.

The exact nature of the school's roles (there is more than one role pattern) in prevention and control of delinquency will depend upon a clear differentiation among the varieties of delinquents that can be found along the norm-violating spectrum.

We need to differentiate, in program planning, between the delinquent whose major behavioral determinants stem from factors under the skin, i.e., those who show some pathology, and those delinquents whose determinants can be traced to dictates in the culture and subculture, i.e., those whose superego is delinquency identified. (The reader will, of course, note the implied false dichotomy.) Most delinquents represent a mixture of types, but the school's preventive program must be planned with reference to the locus of the antecedents of delinquent behavior. More often, they are to be found outside the domain of the school.

The school can make its contribution in delinquency prevention and control at three operational levels. The "good school" will make its primary (or basic) contribution by becoming a "better school." At the second level, the school can help to prevent delinquency by spotting and helping those youngsters who are exposed or vulnerable to delinquent expression and who may be sparking signals of future difficulty in living within legal norms. On the third level, the schools can aid in the rehabilitation of those youngsters who are already delinquent and who may be on probation or parole by working closely with police, probation, court, and clinic. Strictly speaking, this would imply only a tertiary role for those engaged in vocational rehabilitation programs. But this is much too narrow and restrictive a role in which to cast the total educational apparatus of the school. Hence, the following practices will identify "the better school," with particular reference to those adaptations which can relate to prevention and control of norm violations at all three levels.

1. The school must provide a positive, therapeutic, and reconstructionist climate for the malbehaving child. There are four mood orientations that can be found in varying degree in every school and community. They include: the punitive-retaliatory mood, the positive-humanistic mood, the therapeutic mood, and the cultural-reconstructionist mood.

The punitive-retaliatory orientation is the dominant mood in most schools and communities today. The man-in-the-street, many classroom teachers, and some professional workers with youths and families want to deal with the delinquent by striking back at him and his parents. This is the "get tough" and "treat them rough" school of thought. It includes all those who advocate the greater use of the paddle or night stick, the curfew, and suspension and exclusion from school. The underlying theme is that the young offender (and his parents) should not be tolerated. Rather they should be made to suffer, Having suffered, the delinquent is expected to have learned a lesson that he is not to violate any norms again. Illustrations of the strength of this mood can be found in the recent NEA reports studying working conditions of teachers. The Number Two problem cited by teachers concerned the reluctant and recalcitrant learner. (The Number One problem was over-large class size.) Forty-five per cent of the teachers urged that some provision be made outside the regular classroom for these disturbed or disturbing nonlearners, and forty-eight per cent of the principals endorsed this move. Even the Conant report on the high school subtly, if not wisely, urged that these youngsters might be eased out of school at the age of 14, if they could not or would not learn.

The positive-humanistic mood is also visible in many schools and classrooms. This orientation considers the delinquent not so much a problem child as a child with a problem. The conviction is expressed that there are causes or reasons for the norm violation and that the delinquent is in need of a helping hand rather than the back of the hand. But the school-community effort generally ends up by approaching the delinquency problem via the media of a new playground, an essay contest, or the appointment of a kindly old assistant principal to work with young boys and girls who get in trouble.

The orientation dominant with the professional workers in dealing with the delinquents and their families can be found in the therapeutic mood. Here the underlying premise is that the youthful offender suffers interpsychic conflicts stemming largely from forces under the skin and/or interpersonal relationships in the family. The plea is made to procure adequate psychological, psychiatric, and case-work services. An answer soon shapes up in the form of the child guidance center. The conviction is that the delinquent is sick and he is to be treated as a patient.

The fourth orientation, only recently seen in a few of the larger urban centers, can be described as the cultural-reconstruction mood. This approach assumes that the basic problem in many--if not most--delinquency cases involves values and value systems. The cultural and subcultural determinants of behavior are studied, and the norm violator is viewed as reacting to the demands and the standards set up within his primary reference group as found in the family, gang, neighborhood, school, and community. Within this approach, it is the youngster's essential and intimate reference group that is viewed as the patient. Concern is expressed for the child's rule book as found in his milieu. Community forces--home, church, school, club--regard themselves as "change agents." This approach, only now making itself felt, promises a much needed supplement to the more tradi ;nal school-community efforts.

Today many schools caught in the press of the educational critics demanding more and better mathematicians, scientists, and linguists appear more than willing to sell any malbehaving nonlearner down the river to preserve the academic reputation of the school. Little hope or help can be forthcoming from schools that are devoid of redemptive love, that fail to provide a therapeutic climate, and that have little or no effect on the behavior or way of life of those it is committed to change through the educational growth process.

Vocational rehabilitation programs can provide the understanding, enabling, and therapeutic climate for those youngsters who are bothered or bothersome, but they should do this without dropping their true educational function or without so specializing their educational program as to downgrade the student by placing a low ceiling on his potential and thus truncating his career line. I shall return to this concern again.

2. School personnel must work to develop greater differentiation of curriculum and instruction. In differentiating the curriculum, attention must be given to the current structure of the monolithic upper-middle-class curriculum, which assumes that all high school pupils will become daily readers of the New York Times, will subscribe to the Saturday Review, and will eventually turn out to be worthy alumni of some university or college--preferably of the Ivy League. Attention must be directed to

the development of a meaningful curriculum for the nonmobile or stable lower-class youngster for whom middle-class goals do not represent reasonable or realistic goals. The core of this revised curriculum should center around the communications skills, leisure-time pursuits, husband-wife relationships, child-rearing skills, and beginning job competencies. Universal secondary education will remain an American myth under present curriculum conditions. Indications are that the holding power of the public schools, presently graduating 60-70 out of 100 persons 17 years of age annually, has probably reached its peak. Unless the curriculum is broadened, for many youngsters the American school will remain an ordeal to be sweated out.

In a rapidly changing socio-economic-political scene, the schools must remain experimental, flexible, and fluid. Many critics of the American schools in the Rickover-Bestor tradition are urging "change and improvement" by regressing to the college-preparatory curriculum riveted to the "hard-core subjects" of mathematics, science, and languages. At most, slightly less than half the youth (a generous estimate) have the ability to profit from this traditional emphasis. This highly recommended and prestigious science-math-language diet will regurgitate defeat and frustration for most youngsters and will emit an early school dropout. Dropping our of school has been known to overlap with delinquency.

The great danger to the student in vocational rehabilitation programs is that the curriculum is so modified and so thinned out that the youngster spends most of his time with the jig saw making door stops or with reading materials one level above the comic book. Courses that take on a "practical" and "utilitarian" complexion and that prepare the youngsters only for a rote and standardized occupation can be so lacking in the intellectual and ideational area as to degrade and demean a student's self-concept. Unless the vocational rehabilitation offerings widen occupational horizons and uplift self-esteem, they will neither educate nor rehabilitate.

In addition to its time-honored function of transmitting the heritage and of developing the rational powers, the modern school must view itself as an agency for cultural renewal and change. The objectives of character development, worthy use of leisure, vocational training, worthy family membership, and civic and social competency must be placed in proper perspective as we raise the question, "What are we educating for?" and as we re-examine the objectives of the school against the needs of all pupils, including the serious norm violators, and the needs of our urbanized and technological society. Here is the major challenge to those planning vocational rehabilitation programs.

Furthermore, school objectives must be stated and evaluation of the school's program should be made in terms of development of new and desirable behaviors or the modification of old and undesirable behaviors. If schools can modify the behaviors of large masses of children, thereby changing the culture (the way of life), they may ultimately live up to their potential as an agent for cultural renewal and change. Otherwise the schools must fact the imminent danger of becoming the most expensive irrelevancy of the twentieth century.

3. School staffs must direct their efforts to improving the subliminal or covert curriculum as found in the culture and subculture of the school. This is the way of life that sets up norms telling the youngster how to act and how not to act. Like the lower part of the iceberg, this hidden curriculum often provides more effective learning experiences than are forthcoming from the visible curriculum. The culture of the school society is frequently characterized by sex-crossed activities, delayed and postponed responsibility, learning by clock and by calendar, homogeneous age groupings, undetermined or unspecified goals, external controls, compulsory learning. All these combine to make up a way of school life which varies from school to school and from community to community, but which is always effective in determining how a pupil will behave or misbehave. If we separate and segregate the young offenders into special classes, we can run the risk of reinforcing an already strongly reinforced norm-violating culture. Care should be taken to keep delinquents in the mainstream of school-life activities. To draw them off by themselves in special programs can tend to overaccentuate minor and temporary behavioral deviation.

4. The surrogate role of the teacher must be maximized. Who wants to be like the teacher? Many teachers do, and more could, serve as imitable examples in the old tradition of hero models and by developing strong interpersonal relationships. With the threat of oversized classrooms, teaching machines, and listless mentors, anonymity, impersonality, and boredom can combine to emit a school dropout, if not a delinquent. This means that the instructor in the vocational rehabilitation program

will need to serve as a true hero model. But he will not be able to serve in this capacity if he feels he has little status or prestige and if he himself suffers from low self-concept.

5. For those youngsters who manifest learning difficulties and symptoms of emotional disturbance, the school must procure and maintain certain special and essential services. The teacher's time and competencies are limited. (So, too, with those in vocational rehabilitation.) He needs the help of the school nurse, school doctor, counselor, psychologist, case worker. To the usual array of services, we need to add those of a social analyst. Drawn from the disciplines of sociology and cultural anthropology, this functionary would aim to help school personnel to understand the society of the school and the cultural and subcultural currents within the school and the community. This social scientist would be concerned primarily with the dynamics of behavior as found in the individual's milieux. This worker would serve as a strong complement to the psychologists or guidance workers who tend to concern themselves almost exclusively with psychic determinants of behavior.

6. Early identification of pupils vulnerable or exposed to the development of delinquent behavior can best be carried on in the school agency. While there is no prediction tool, table, or test that can be used in a perfunctory way today to spot the future delinquent; some youngsters give many hints of incipient delinquency and can be readily identified for referral and help.

they also have problems. When a problem-laden teacher meets a problem-laden pupil, watch out for behavioral explosions. Teaching a large class of different and often difficult pupils day in and day out makes unusual demands on the teaching personality. When the going gets rough, teachers need ready access to an accepting and understanding administrator or counselor to whom they can gripe, beef, remonstrate, and unload. If relationships with the staff are positive and of a nonjudgmental nature, these functionaries should be able to play the therapeutic-listening role of the good administrator or supervisor. In this way, the principal's office can become a comfortable listening post or haven for the overworked, hard-pressed, harassed, and unhappy teacher. This is the easiest form of counseling and one that can do the least damage. If no one on the teaching staff ever comes by to discuss his problems with the administrator or supervisor on his own initiative, it is probably the administrator who needs help.

8. The school must improve its partnership role within the total community complex of health and welfare agencies. The school cannot remain an isolated agency. It must coordinate its efforts with those of other youth and family welfare and recreation agencies. There are many covert conflicts in school and community that drain off the administrators' and teachers' energies which should be better applied to helping the norm-violating youngsters. Many of these conflicts can be found along the following bipolar dimensions: action vs. theory, rehabilitation vs. retaliation, centralization of services vs. localization of services, subjectivity vs. objectivity, student activity vs. student passivity. Lack of any real coordination or teamwork can frequently be attributed to these subliminal

In a three-year prediction study involving a careful before-and-after design in grades 7,8,and 9, which I have reported in Exceptional Children,[2] the prediction scales employed failed to meet the stringent tests of functional and statistical significance set up in the research design around the criterion of norm-violating behavior. Nevertheless, this study did indicate that the behavioral observations and ratings of experienced junior high school teachers showed more promise as a method of identifying the future norm violators than did the psychological scales. Few youngsters become delinquent overnight. In the long sequitur of behavior, the alert teacher gets many hints of future difficulties, for "nothing predicts behavior like behavior." By drawing the predelinquent into the rehabilitation program early, the vocational specialists may play a preventive role.

This same study also pointed up the fact that junior high school youngsters who fall into the lowest of poorest reading group tend to show a heavy preponderance of norm violations. Reading ability, whether it be cause or effect, must be taken into account as a potential factor closely tied in with the delinquency symptom. Attention to the poorest readers in the vocational rehabilitation effort may enable the community to focus on a group of youngsters who are already, or who will be, showing behavioral disturbances.

7. The principal, school counselor, and school social worker must provide therapeutic counseling for the staff. Teachers are persons and, like their pupils,

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[2] William C. Kvaraceus. "Forecasting Delinquency: A Three-Year Experiment," Exceptional Children, 27 (April,1961), 429-35.

conflict-issues.

In summary, there is no one thing that the school or the vocational rehabilitation program alone can do that will make any great difference in the delinquency story. In a sense, the school's responsibility toward the delinquent does not differ from its responsibility to every and any learner or nonlearner, The juvenile delinquent is not a statistic. The juvenile delinquent is a growing and sensitive person. He has a face and a name -- and feelings. He is surrounded, like other children, by parents, peers, teachers, and youth workers. All of these individuals are in a strategic position to help him or to hurt him. The juvenile delinquent does not live in a vacuum. He learns, he plays, and he works in a culture or subculture. The realities that he must face and the values that he inherits are seldom of his own making or shaping. Yet he must learn to face his reality, to adjust to it, and sometimes even to change it, if he is to survive in the depths of the big decaying city or even in the highly waxed environment of a new suburbia. Not unlike the terrible plight of the "little boys for little chimneys" of Charles Dickens's day, the modern delinquent caught in the impersonal and technological culture of today's society represents a big boy struggling in a big school chimney. The opportunity and the responsibility to help the norm violator rest not just with every youth and family worker but with every American citizen, and especially with every parent and school worker. The vocational rehabilitation instructor can be one of these school workers.

Chapter III

Psychological Aspects of Delinquency
Implications for Vocational Rehabilitation

By Joseph L. Massimo

Commentary

Rehabilitation counselors should study this paper very carefully because of the important implications that it has for their work with delinquent clients. This paper should also be of value to juvenile court judges, probation officers, and others in understanding the central role of work in the rehabilitation of the delinquent. Dr. Massimo also provides us with an excellent understanding of the developmental forces in adolescence and how normal behavior may merge into delinquent manifestations.

Clearly characterized are the dilemmas and the emotional upheavals confronting the adolescent. All of us are familiar with these conflicts of dependence vs. independence, of whether or not to accept social values, the problems of sexual identification, and the anxieties in the educational and vocational planning for the future. The delinquent's confusing search for identity and his anti-social behavior have a long developmental history which Massimo points out is the result of disturbances in socialization which have not been mastered.

As he cautions, and rehabilitation counselors certainly should take heed, vocational rehabilitation with delinquents is carried on during the adolescent period while the roots of anti-social orientation develop much earlier. Therefore, if there is to be effective therapeutic intervention, it is essential to understand the complex psychological factors involved in the evolution of the delinquent character.

The focal idea of this paper is on the crucial significance of employment for adolescent delinquents, not only because it facilitates needed identity function, but because it can be used as a fulcrum for intensive therapeutic intervention. However, he points out that work alone does not solve problems. If programs of vocational training or job placement do not have intensive counseling incorporated in the program, the delinquent is likely to suffer the insults of temporary employment and repetitive job hunting. Dr. Massimo is essentially making a plea for a comprehensive approach to the problem with techniques which are flexible and adaptable. The delinquent, he points out, may need a variety of services ranging over a field including pre-employment counseling focusing on job readiness, remedial education to overcome academic handicaps, work which will satisfy therapeutic needs, and psychotherapy (when he needs it) to handle crisis situations or to deal with personal problems. It is his conviction that the counselor must play the role of a central significant figure, playing many functional roles such as helper, defender, friend, father figure, etc. which permit him to tie all the strands of therapy together and therby providing a process where continual assistance is available to the delinquent.

The commentator is impressed with the similarity of this program to that of the Member Employee program which was carried on by the Veterans Administration in the recent past. In this latter program, which was for the rehabilitation of chronic schizophrenic patients, the counseling psychologist served as the central significant figure carrying out role responsibilities identical to those described by Massimo. In the forty Veterans Administration hospitals that conducted these programs, all of them reported unusual success. In the Brockton Veterans Administration Hospital, for example, where the commentator was the central significant figure in charge of the program, eight hundred chronic schizophrenic patients from a fifty-bed unit were successfully rehabilitated in a seven year period.

With two such contrasting programs (rehabilitation of delinquents and rehabilitation of chronic schizophrenics) utilizing a similar approach and reporting successful application, it would seem that this portends a unique opportunity and challenge to rehabilitation counselors. Through their counseling and coordinative functions, they should be able to serve delinquent clients in such a way that the centrality of their role in the rehabilitation process constitutes, in itself, prime therapeutic intervention. Likewise, the paper by Massimo should provide to both juvenile court judges and probation officers a more optimistic outlook for the rehabilitation of delinquents in their charge. It is hoped that when judicial prerogatives are exercised in dealing with the delinquent, it will be in the direction of the wide variety of alternatives that can now successfully spell rehabilitation.

Psychological Aspects of Delinquency: Implications for Vocational Rehabilitation

The literature on delinquency abounds with theoretical formulations concerning the psychological factors involved in the etiology of this pressing social problem. A review of these positions and various theories suggests that the psychological factors underlying chronic delinquent behavior involve problems in object relationships, psychosexual development, and disturbances in social functioning. Typically, the delinquent adolescent is seen as having been unable to achieve a sense of personal identity and experiencing a kind of self-diffusion. Their basic problems are reflected in antisocial behavior patterns, lack of control over impulses, contempt for authority, a derogatory self-concept, and a concomitant arresting of learning and of the formation of positive interpersonal relationships.

In most recent years theoretical stances have expanded and it is now generally recognized that antisocial behavior is an end product of a variety of personal and social milieus, motives, role models, self-images and psychological archetypes.

The purpose of this paper will be to focus on the most crucial psychological factors and their implications for vocational rehabilitation, as they apply to the adolescent period, since it appears that during these years delinquent behavior often reaches a peak. It should be remembered, however, that the roots of the antisocial orientation are imbedded in an earlier time of life and that the profound and complex psychological, sociological, and psysiological stresses of adolescence, which occur in a great variety of ways in different individuals, serve to precipitate the delinquent behavior in its most abrasive forms during this later stage of development.

Adolescence and Delinquency

Adolescence is a developmental period characterized by intense emotional upheaval. Among the major developmental tasks with which the adolescent must cope, these four stand out: (1) resolution of conflicts concerning independence and dependence, (2) acceptance of social values, (3) identification with the biologically determined sex role, and (4) determination of educational and vocational future. It is not possible here to explore all those that are directly relevant to the problem of antisocial behavior.

Psycho-Sexual Conflict in Adolescence

Of the many developmental problems the adolescent faces, no one can be considered in isolation. Each is interwoven and interrelated with the others. However, the psycho-sexual conflicts of this period are most crucial and provide a natural introduction to a discussion of the most fundamental task of adolescence--the formation of self-identity.

According to psychoanalytic theory, adolescence represents, in part, a recapitulation of an earlier sexual struggle at a time when the psychic apparatus has acquired a potential for direct discharge of sexual tension in real life. The early phase of this period is ushered in by the anatomical and physiological changes of puberty. As the reproductive organs begin to function, poorly understood impulses arise and the adolescents previous capacity to cope with them, in terms of reality demands, appears weakened. The intrapsychic equilibrium becomes disrupted as psychological mechanisms of adjustment are threatened by the impact of these new impulses and the intensification of older ones. All of the adolescent's energy is turned toward coping with sexual urges and forceful attempts are often made to break from the family bonds, thereby controlling the impulses associated with parental objects and hopefully banishing forever threatening fantasies.

The adolescent seeks new relationships in a self-centered effort to alleviate anxiety, receive gratification, and establish his sexual identity. He struggles to achieve some kind of heterosexual harmony but often finds himself inadequate and uncomfortable in a role to which he is not yet accustomed. As a result of these inner stresses he lives in a state of constant ambivalence, marked by quickly rising enthusiasm changing to utter hopelessness, a yearning for freedom coupled with an urge to remian dependent and feelings of compassion which oscillate with a deep sense of anger.

Adults are often regarded as cold, stupid, and rejecting and the adolescent may be enraged by the unvarying demands that he "grow up." He tries to achieve manhood but is not immediately successful and may flounder in his efforts, unable to see himself in the role of a full bargaining member of society. (In today's modern world the nature of the encompassing adult community and the obvious contradictions it represents, makes this position even more difficult to achieve.)

These conflicts are but one aspect of a basic over-all struggle for self-definition. In essence, the achievement of this personal identity is the primary task of adolescence. Erikson states this concept succinctly:

> ...identity is the awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and continuity to the ego's synthesizing methods and that these methods are effective in safe-guarding the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for others. (1959)

The psychological structure of the adolescent is the oomposite result of the multiple aspects of this process.

Identity Formation and the Development of Antisocial Character

Faced with physiological revolution, the adolescent attempts to consolidate his role and achieve a personal identity. It is during this period that decisions must be made which will lead to a clearer self-definition, to certain irreversible role patterns, and to commitments for life, or conversely to a fragmented sense of self. The potentiality for transformation of character is increased during this phase of development and when physical stability is attained at a relatively mature level, the personal characteriological structure formed during adolescence is revealed and remains typical of the individual throughout life.

Whatever may be the initial manifestation of adolescence, very shortly the more aggressive attack upon life problems--the striving for autonomy, biological identity, and social emancipation--results in the so-called typical behavior of the adolescent. The swaggering teenager, expressing his aggressive feelings through pronounced rebellion and shaggy arrogance, is a familiar sight. Oftentimes he appears to be a second-rate player eagerly overacting his part in an effort to achieve stardom, or, in another sense, arrive at manhood. Bodily changes increase his drive for masculinity and the concept of strength and muscular development are paramount factors in male identity. The masculine role is associated with aggressiveness and the adolescent asserts himself through feats of daring and exploits which often run contrary to the expectations of the adult society.

With continued support and the opportunity to achieve a sense of autonomy, the tendency to act out delinquently gradually subsides and a welcomed identity begins to emerge. Conflicts in interpersonal relations decrease and the adolescent approaches psychological adulthood with the ability to set controls and limits upon his own impulses and behavior.

The achievement of this identity, however, cannot come about unless basic trust in the goodness and predictability of people and life was established during early childhood. Erikson suggests that this identity develops out of the gradual integration of accumulated childhood identifications which lead to a "successful alignment of the individual's basic drives with his endowment and his opportunities." (1959) Self-esteem develops as one grows in the conviction that he is learning the steps necessary to master social reality. The child recognizes that his individual way of dealing with experience is gratifying and a successful "variant of the way other people around him master experience and recognize such masters." (1959)

If the child has been denied these experiences and the nature of early interpersonal relationships has been pathological, the achievement of identity becomes virtually impossible. In adolescence such youngsters experience identity-diffusion, for they are unable to attain a sense of self-recognition and esteem. By the age of sixteen they are likely to view themselves as stupid and generally worthless, a self-image that may be disguised behind the protective facade of belligerent, self-assured and indifferent behavior characteristics of the delinquent personality.

The antisocial adolescent's behavior patterns have a long developmental history and are the result of disturbances in socialization which have not been mastered. Numerous rejections and various degrees of deprivation experienced within the family cause continual frustration and contaminate their early years of development. The groundwork for personal identity is never laid and defective adaptational patterns eventually become manifest in acute social conflict.

In general, this behavior is in the form of uncontrollable, malicious, and aggressive acts toward the property and person of others. The delinquent's impulse life is primitive with all sense of perspective overruled by a dominant emphasis on concrete, short-range goals. No guilt seems to be experienced and the delinquent shows little concern for the rights and feelings of others. The basic conflicts of these adolescents become particularly clear when they are confronted with the demands for social conformity placed upon them by the traditional middle class school. Usually they have long-standing records of truancy and scholastic failure, precursors of more serious antisocial behavior as young adults.

As a result of the delinquent's need to achieve immediate gratification, people in authority, in fact all symbols of authority and restraint, are perceived as sadistic and depriving. Established limits are looked upon with deep hostility as consequence of their hedonistic orientation. Authority figures are seen in extremes--they are either cruel, merciless dictators or ineffectual, weak tools of society. A distorted negative attitude is generalized to all adults, especially those in positions of authority.

Antisocial behavior becomes more than an attempt to cope with the vicissitudes of adolescence; it becomes a style of life, dictated by the stresses of a tenuous existence and traceable to the pathology of early relationships. Feelings of loss and intense fears of vulnerability are defended against by overt aggressive behavior. The delinquent's radical closing-up, total narcissism, provocative smugness, and utter denial of guilt, may cover and serve to counteract the anxiety created by an ever-threatening identity diffusion.

It should be noted that for some children, particularly from lower socio-economic areas, the goals they are taught to value and the methods adapted for obtaining them, quite often result in what is called deviant behavior by the larger segment of society, but which represents, within the youngster's own isolated social milieu, an adjustment that could be viewed as evidence of an appropriate identity. (Sociologists point out that this occurs in only a small number of cases and that there are many young people from similar socio-economic conditions who do not demonstrate antisocial patterns of behavior. It is also suggested that no segment of our subculture places a positive value on delinquency per se or establishes a set of standards which elicit illegal behavior.) For such children, however, gross conflict occurs between the fragile identity they have found in their own social group and that which is expected of them in the larger society to which they must eventually relate in order to achieve the more highly desired objectives.

Given the complex psychological factors which appear to be involved in the evolution of the delinquent character, attention should now be turned to the problems of intervention. The discussion will concern itself primarily with these factors as related to adolescence and their implications for vocational rehabilitation.

The Role of Employment in the Treatment of Delinquents

In more primitive societies the rites de passage of young people into adulthood exhibit varying degrees of severity which clearly separate the men from the boys. For adolescents in our culture, entry into manhood is less clearly marked and in many ways more painful. The goal seems distant and nebulous with limited means available for its attainment. In competitive American society, however, meaningful work is a symbol of entrance into the man's world and is considered a fundamental requirement for maturity. Work mastery in any culture also seems to be the backbone of identity formation.

Although there has been a great deal of research on occupational aspirations as related to identity formation in adolescence, there is a minimal amount of material dealing with the actual work experience of the adolescent period. Fourth, the work experience offers an opportunity to learn to deal with adults and to identify with more adult tasks by getting actively involved in adult-like experience. Fifth, the work experience can serve as an opportunity for the channeling and draining of the intense sexual and aggressive energies of adolescents into constructive activity. Sixth, the experience in work also can contribute to the formation of sexual identity as boys take jobs associated with masculinity--girls, jobs associated with the feminine role. Seventh, jobs can help test out new skills that are being developed, and test, against reality, new concepts that have arisen.

For adolescent delinquents, employment has a crucial role, not only because it facilitates needed identity formation through the ways outlined above but because it can be used as a fulcrum for intensive therapeutic intervention.

Recent delinquency-prevention programs, especially those in deprived areas where the employment structure has been limited, have attempted to increase the availability of jobs and the use of job placement as an integral part of the treatment program for delinquent adolescents. However, most of these programs have also been aware that delinquents have more severe problems than just lack of employment. Most delinquents are far behind their age-grade level. Their basic skills in reading and arithmetic are very meager. (Studies have demonstrated that their intelligence is usually in the normal range.) Thus, having done poorly in school, they are academically unprepared for most work situations. Delinquents also have poor social skills. They find it difficult to deal with the authority figure of a boss and to organize their energies toward constructive activity with people. Added to this are the many personality factors previously discussed that make it most difficult for chronic adolescent delinquents to succeed on the job. These include their marked impulsivity, low frustration tolerance, a very concrete attitude toward the world, limited time sense, inability to plan, much focus on action, and a great fear of dependency in any situation where there might be closeness to people. Although work is often conceived of by the delinquent as preferable to continuing in school, he thus has few assets that would serve to sustain him in an employment situation. As a result of the many difficulties that delinquent adolescents have, work alone is not able to solve their problems. Therefore, programs of vocational training or job placement that do not have intensive counseling incorporated in the program usually result only in temporary employment and repetitive job hunting. For that reason, although in planning a program for delinquents work may be seen as a goal, it is necessary to include other services. The delinquent adolescent, for example, needs pre-employment counseling focusing on job readiness. Severely handicapped academically, he also needs a remedial education program individually tailored to his needs and related to his work performance, so that his skills can be maintained and improved. He needs a program that also offers psychotherapeutic help when his work experience has resulted in difficulty or when he may have to discuss certain personal problems. Because of his limited time sense and inability to withstand frustration, he also needs support immediately at times of crisis and in the place of difficulty, not at hours structured as weekly interviews and set up according to a preconceived schedule by a professional person in an office setting. In essence, he needs a comprehensive, vocationally oriented treatment program involving vocational assistance, remedial education, and intensive psychological counseling. In this program these techniques must be utilized in a flexible, combined approach and offered by a single practitioner with job placement serving as a matrix for the other therapeutic efforts.

This author recently reported a research study (1963) and follow-up (1966) aimed toward reaching and treating the adolescent delinquent through the use of this type of program. The program was initiated within 24 hours after the boy dropped out of school or was expelled from school for anti-social activity as well as academic failure. All of the boys had been on probation at least once and had long records of delinquent activity. When the initial contact was made at a time and place selected by the boy, all the boys agreed to explore the possibilities of receiving help in getting a job. In this way, these delinquents who characteristically rejected any academic or counseling program within the usual settings, seemed able to become involved and be motivated to some degree. To assist a boy in getting and keeping a job, his expectations and attitudes with regard to work were developed and explored. Often these expectations were grossly unrealistic, the youngster perceiving himself either as an omnipotent worker or as a helpless scapegoat. His attitudes were examined within the counseling situation. (We know this is necessary because many delinquents are incapable of relating to fellow workers, still less so to the authoritative figure of the employer. The supervisor's demands are seen as unfair and intolerable. As a consequence, they constantly seek opportunities to leave the position, especially in circumstances that will enable them to project the blame for their failure onto others.)

A job was sought when it was felt that the youngster was generally prepared to venture onto this new therapeutic course. Haphazard placement would have serious ramifications both for the delinquents and for the employer.

In the past, antisocial adolescents have often been placed in any job available, regardless of its appropriateness, so long as it met federal and state laws for youth employment. For placement to be therapeutically effective it must involve more than this. The jobs should not be randomly selected. Those available should be carefully screened by the counselor in the light of his specific knowledge of the delinquent's aptitudes and interests.

The delinquent should not be forced into a job, although economic necessity may make immediate employment an urgent matter. Whenever possible, the youngster and counselor select a work role which seems most appropriate. The young worker is helped to understand that this is his job, not the counselor's, and that he is free to reject or leave the position when such action is indicated.

The benefits that can be gained on the job are unattainable or negated unless the delinquent is continually helped with basic personality problems. Patterson, speaking of the emotionally disturbed patient, recognized this need. "Both problems (vocational and psychological)", he has written, "must be worked on concurrently--a counselor trained and skilled must carry on both aspects of rehabilitation." (1958, pg. 206) The treatment of antisocial adolescents requires the same blending of techniques. Acquiring a job does not terminate the counseling; it provides a concrete milieu needed for meaningful and intensive consideration of conflicts, purposes, and attitudes. Accepting help becomes less threatening and the delinquent's desire to succeed in his new capacity of employee motivates him to explore personal and academic shortcomings.

Events on the job expose unrealistic dispositions, denials, and contradictions which are appraised in the counseling sessions. The counseling activity tends to become intensified through the realities encountered at work. The personal interaction is not seen as an abstraction by the delinquent, for it is now focused on an aspect of his everyday experience. New insights can be gradually synthesized within the personality and subjected to immediate testing on the job.

In this program the counselor tried to establish himself as important to the boy without fostering the dependence that frequently is associated with psychotherapy. Flexibility in technique and service was maintained. The urgency of the problems that arise in the lives of disturbed adolescents requires immediate action, support, and concrete help. This flexibility must be carried over into all aspects of the program. Ordinary clinical counseling methods are inadequate, for these adolescents require unusual amounts of time and effort. The length as well as the content of interviews must be determined in relation to the delinquent's primary needs. Sessions may vary in duration from fifteen minutes to two hours and be held on a weekly or even daily basis depending on the nature of the individual problem. These meetings are not always conducted within an office setting; in fact, many take place in public parks, local stores, or while riding in the counselor's automobile.

The counselor also varied his involvement in terms of the boy's ability to handle close relationships. He got involved in all aspects of the boy's activities when appropriate and could be reached day or night. Motility and action rather than words were often used as methods of communicating. That is, the counselor and boy took many trips and would frequently do things together while talking. Job finding, court appearances, pleasure trips, driving lessons, locating and buying a car, dentist appointments, shopping for clothes, opening a bank account, were all activities that were done jointly by the counselor and the delinquent. All contact was on a one-to-one basis. (Although small groups eventually formed.) When the boy failed on the job the counselor worked with him to understand the sources of his failure and to help him select another job that was in line with his changing interests, abilities, and goals. Throughout the employment experience counseling was consistently related to the problems encountered at work.

An additional aspect of this multiple approach involved intensive help in the inflicted area of learning. The counselor, who was cognizant of the youngster's psychological state, was best qualified to determine the timing and structure of this activity. As the delinquent's self-image improved and personal difficulties began to unravel in the counseling interaction, more energy became available for investment in learning. Holding a job offered a variety of opportunities for academic pursuits. Studies of taxation, budgeting, interest, percentage, driver's manuels, menus, reading, spelling, and other related subjects became pragmatic. Through such endeavors the tutorial activity was made meaningful and therapeutic. Continued work experience and intensive counseling exposed new vistas for learning that could be approached with mutual enthusiasm. The delinquent became increasingly aware that the counselor was a significant other who could help him succeed in various areas where he had previously failed, and this served to solidify the all important relationship.

The unique aspect of this program was that the parts of treatment program--vocational assistance and job placement, the teaching of academic skills, and individual counseling--were not divided according to "departments" in which one individual or section of an agency took over one responsibility and function while another handled a different area. All of these activities were part of the work of a single professional who prepared the boy for entrance into the working world, and continued to work with him until he was able to take over responsibilities himself. Thus, the traditional roles of psychotherapist, remedial educator, vocational counselor, were combined, as the counselor was willing to undertake that particular activity which was most appropriate at a given time.

Although there has been general acceptance of the close interaction between emotional and academic difficulties, practitioners have not attempted to treat them as a unitary problem. A combined approach was considered to run counter to a long-term effort to give counseling an identity separate from teaching. It is suggested here that both techniques can successfully be used within a relationship and that, in fact, they must be so applied in order to help mitigate the learning problems of these specific adolescents.

Two additional aspects of this program must be considered. One is that this effort took place in suburban communities where gang structures were loose and an individual approach was most appropriate in dealing with delinquent activity (unlike areas where social deterioration is great and delinquent behavior can be seen as more related to social disorganization than individual difficulties). Opportunities for employment were available and the problem was that the boys were not able to take advantage of the opportunities present in the community because of their intense personality difficulties. Many of the boys, for example, had attempted to join boy's clubs, YMCA, and other agencies, but had been forced to leave because of their provocativeness and their anti-social behavior.

A second feature of this program was that no formal employment service was used. The counselor was aware of the community and its resources. He would, therefore, on an informal basis, mutually explore with the boy the possibilities for employment. They then went out together to attempt to find suitable jobs, in this way experiencing together the frustrations as well as the successes of job seeking.

The effectiveness of the program described was evaluated for 10 delinquent boys who were treated and 10 who were not treated (Massimo and Shore 1963). Significant changes occurred in the treated boys in the areas of personality attitudes, job performance, reduction in anti-social activity, and performance on academic achievement tests. The untreated group demonstrated severe deterioration in these areas during the same period of time. The 1966 follow-up study (Massimo and Shore) has provided evidence that the youngsters served by this program maintained their gains and, in fact, continued to improve while the comparison group members evidenced further decline.

The program described raises many important issues for the future. How do you train counselors to carry out this approach? The need to draw upon the skills and knowledge of several disciplines as they relate to these adolescents and their specific needs at a given time, indicates the necessity for multidisciplined training for those interested in working with this group of young people. Are there certain personality qualifications that are necessary for counselors to be able to learn such techniques? Would this same approach be equally as successful in other settings? How can a program of this kind be modified and integrated into the counseling programs of schools (to reach these youngsters before they leave), or community agencies such as settlement houses, family service centers, vocational placement offices and probation departments? Some of these questions are being explored at the present time.

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*The original publication of this chapter appeared as an article in the American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, July, 1963. In 1965 this work was recognized by the American Psychological Association as an outstanding contribution to research in the field of counseling psychology for the year 1963.

Chapter IV

Some Sociological Aspects of Delinquency: Implications for Vocational Rehabilitation

by Stephen Schafer

Commentary

The paper by Dr. Schafer places the importance of work in sociological perspective. He traces the origin of work in a penal setting from that of prison labor for punishment purposes to that which is primarily therapeutic and rehabilitative. It is interesting that work in mental hospitals has followed a similar course from that of exploiting the patient to work, which is essentially therapeutic and rehabilitative. In those early days, the aim of work was to keep the prisoner so occupied that it would prevent discontent and acting out. In today's institution work is increasingly accepted as a part of the vocational rehabilitation program.

Dr. Schafer points out that, actually, vocational rehabilitation has a long and venerable history with offenders, giving as an example the interest of Pope Clement XI in this area. Yet, paradoxically, little if anything has been done for delinquent youth. He quotes the National Crime Commission report, which states that "any young person meets a number of problems when he sets out to find a job. He must learn where and how to look, decide what to look for, and finally, make himself acceptable." As a result, Schafer stresses the significant idea that before the delinquent is released from the institution he should be helped to acquire employability.

This statement from the Crime Commission report and the follow up comment by Schafer underlines the importance of rehabilitation counseling with delinquent youth. They need all kinds of help in preparation for social and economic responsibility and

and the rehabilitation counselor is in a peculiarly strategic position to mobilize resources to help the delinquent. Cooperative agreements between the juvenile court and state rehabilitation agencies will bring the rehabilitation counselor on the scene and the process of implementation can begin with dispatch.

In the commentator's opinion, Schafer's major contribution in this paper is his analysis of the societal role of work in understanding delinquency. It is not, he suggests, a mere expenditure of energy solely for earning an income, although that is important. Work is not an end in itself, but rather there is a motivational valuation of work which influences what you do as a result of the fruits of your labor. For example, an individual could buy narcotics rather than food and thus perpetuate his pathological addiction.

Therefore, those who work with delinquents must understand the significance of work. Inadequate vocational rehabilitation leads to a lack of inculcation of positive values. It also leads to rolelessness. The rolelessness of delinquents underscores Schafer's major thesis: namely, that work has social significance and the individual's production is part of his social role. This concept should be an important lesson for the rehabilitation counselor. Sometimes he approaches vocational rehabilitation with a narrow and even provincial orientation to the meaning of work.

It is well for the rehabilitation counselor and others to remember, as Schafer has so eloquently expressed, that vocational rehabilitation is not just job training and placement. It should be a means of attracting the delinquent away from his delinquent subculture through accessible highways to the mainstream of community life. Work is an instrument of social solidarity and the way to keep a group maintained and functional. Delinquents must be helped to understand the significance of work in this broader sense - that work is not only an individual act, but also a part of the social responsibility.

"Thank God every morning when you get up that you have something to do that day which must be done, whether you like it or not. Being forced to work, and forced to do your best, will breed in you temperance and self control, diligence and strength of will, cheerfulness and content, and a hundred virtues which the idle never know."

(Charles Kingsley - Letter)

Some Sociological Aspects of Delinquency--
Implications for Vocational Rehabilitation

The galley slaves were probably not the first convicts, nor were they the last, to be forced to productive work. "In the actual management of the galleys, the predominant aim was to obtain the greatest possible benefit from the labor."[1] From the Biblical times to the operation of Nazi concentration camps, the history of man presents abundant evidence of utilizing the captives' labor for the captors' own ends. The chronicle of human affairs for thousands of years is a rich source of examples of individuals and whole groups of people who were said to be guilty and, if not massacred, were ruthlessly forced to work for the profit of the actual ruling power.

The basic idea upon which this sort of penal labor was founded did not relinquish the intent to punish by cruelty and brutality, it just coupled the physical torture of the convict with the economic advantage of those who decided his guilt. The administrators of this "punishment" simply found their revengeful spirit convenient to be employed for gainful purposes.

Prison labor, in general, has always been supported by the popular understanding of punishment: "the public believes, ... that prisoners should work -- and work hard."[2] Ever since John Howard two centuries ago proposed to make men diligent in order to make them honest,[3] the idleness of the prisoners has been taken by the lay attitude for some privilege of the incarcerated men, and the forced labor for a part of the sensual wrong they deserve to suffer as the price of their crime. The man in the street, also many prison administrators have been inclined to identify hard work with a means of correction and reformation. The seventeenth century Quaker criminal codes stipulated hard labor in a "house of correction" for all serious crimes but homicide (murder was punishable by death), and even immorality and sex offenses, smoking in the streets, riotous sports, stage-plays, playing at cards and lotteries, or drunkenness may have ended with some stay in a workhouse. Today many immoralities are tolerated, riotous sports are practiced, and a number of poor plays are performed without penalty; but in numerous penal systems compulsory work remained an integral part of the punishment. For example, in the Soviet Union the sanction against those who avoid socially useful work is the exile for two to five years with forced physical labor;[4] or the English Detention Centres for young offenders provide a deliberately unpleasant tough physical training.[5]

The basic idea of this approach to making prisoners work is, in a certain dubious sense, therapeutic in nature. Certainly, the element of retribution is not missing from this understanding of the prison labor either, but the magical influence of rugged work on the evil in the lawbreaker has been a dominant consideration.

Prisoners, in general, do not resent their working behind the prison bars, as long as the kind and extent of work is good for occupying their time and mind, but hardly more than that. The prison administration, again in general, prefers to make the prisoners busy, in the hope that this diverts their attention from discontent and rioting. These two complementary attitudes helped to reduce the brutality of the revengeful spirit as well as the ultraist trust in the reformative force of hard work, combined the moderate modes of these two basic ideas with an economic outlook, and developed the prison factory.

In 1790 the Walnut Street Jail in Philadelphia introduced a system of productive-reformative prison labor, in 1819 the Auburn prison in New York succeeded in getting legislative approval to a lucrative program, and in 1828 Sing Sing adopted the idea of this new method of making busy the convicts. Other states followed the example; outside contractors have been used, products sold to state-supported institutions, open markets approached, prisoners employed in public works, and other modes have been applied to stimulate and improve the prison industry. Farming, automobile plate making, preparation of chewing tobacco, furniture repair, road construction, and a variety of other jobs have been introduced to the incarcerated men. However, as a result of the depression and unemployment in the 30's, and due to the pressure of unions and outside business, much of the production and sale of goods have been prohibited. Now, "prisoners can labor only at prison maintenance tasks, and in supplying goods and services for other government agencies."[6]

Nevertheless, the present day students of the crime and delinquency problem are concerned primarily with institutional work as part of a vocational rehabilitation program; and neither labor as the retaliation of an outraged society, nor hard work as a therapy per se, nor the operation of a prison factory would reflect what vocational rehabilitation should really mean. "Vocational rehabilitation" is a rather long term and covers a complex concept with several interrelated strands; commonly it is understood as the restoration of efficiency in fitting the person to make his livelihood again.

Pope Clement XI was probably among the first who attempted a sort of primitive "vocational rehabilitation" for "bad" boys. In 1704 he established in Rome the "Hospice of San Michele," where he wanted to render them virtuous by hard work; however, at the same time, he gave them trade-training and, thus, connected corrective discipline with useful vocational learning. In 1773, at Ghent in Flanders, Hippolyte Vilain developed a maison de force where, again, the objective of hard work was not only correction or reformation, but also to teach the inmates a trade; vocational instruction was emphasized to equip the prisoners with the potential of earning their living after released from this workhouse. In fact, San Michele and Ghent followed up the Amsterdam, Dresden, and Hamburg experiments a century before, and should have been the beginnings of a new era; yet the idea of vocational rehabilitation could not gain solid ground and in this respect little if anything was done for the delinquent youth.

In 1788 the Philanthropic Society of London distributed a small group of delinquent children to the care of families where agriculture was the way through which these youths were supposed to learn how to earn an honest living.[7] Later on, the Society established asylums for this purpose. In 1822 the German Adalbert Recke-Vollmarstein organized an institution at Düsselthal, near Düsseldorf, where some trades and farming were taught to delinquent and neglected children. Americans, interested in penal reform and having visited Europe, impressed by the enthusiasm of John Griscom, a New Jersey Quaker, established a House of Refuge for nine children in 1825 in New York, the second such institution opened in Boston in 1826, and the third one in Philadelphia in 1828 -- all aimed at a "factory" combined with education. However, "some of these early Houses of Refuge were little more than prisons, in spite of the glowing language used in the reports and the press of the day, and despite the well-meaning superintendents and boards of directors."[8]

Even when the cottage type of institutions for juvenile delinquents developed, the decisive importance of the vocational rehabilitation of children was not really recognized. Among the first institutions of the kind, established by the French Demetz at Tours, the English Brenton in London, and the German Wichern at Horn, or in the first in this country for girls at Lancaster, Massachusetts in 1854, and for boys at another Lancaster, this one in Ohio, in 1858 -- none can be distinguished as a promoter of the cause of vocational rehabilitation of delinquents. Today, most of our institutions provide at least some trade-training; yet, in spite of many commendable endeavors, the institutional teaching of trades, in general, is indeed not a perfect expression of what vocational rehabilitation should mean.

Vocational rehabilitation is generally viewed as the preparation of the institutionalized child to taking up at least some simple job after released and, at best, as finding him an opportunity of making a minimum income. In most of the cases, its rather mechanical operation lacks conceptual understanding and "vocational rehabilitation" is not really placed in the wholeness of the treatment program. The President's National Crime Commission pointed out that "many institutions, especially those for juveniles have counselors, teachers, and chaplains whose charge it is to aid in the process of rehabilitation, but their limited role and number typically make significant rehabilitative efforts impossible. Shops and farms or other work activities too often are operated primarily because of their value to the state and conducted in a fashion useless for instruction in skills and habits needed to succeed in the community."[9]

The National Crime Commission found that there is an absence of good industrial programs, and the inmates do not learn the habit of working independently and with dispatch. Indolence and lethargy characterize the institutional environment, and in the given circumstances useful jobs cannot be learned. The goods made by the inmates tend to be inferior in design and workmanship to those available from private enterprise. Delivery is unreliable, and the products frequently cost more than similar items that are privately produced. The Commission recommended that "states should work together and with the Federal Government to institute modern correctional industries programs aimed at rehabilitation of offenders through instilling good work habits and methods."[10]

The President's National Crime Commission suggested that "any young person meets a number of problems when he sets out to find a job. He must learn where and how to look, decide what to look for, and finally, make himself acceptable. If he is a school dropout or has a delinquency record, those problems are significantly more serious."[11] In other words, the juvenile delinquent, before released from the institution, ought to acquire his "employability" -- the rehabilitative essence that he is supposed to learn in the institution. Is that all that can be expected from the vocational rehabilitative teaching of the institutional administration? Is the preparation for getting and holding a steady job -- that is, employability -- what should be meant by "vocational rehabilitation"?

The answer to this question leads us to the problem of the societal role of work in the understanding of delinquency, and is subject to the qualification that work itself does not work if it is a mere expenditure of energy and only an application of effort to secure the financial prerequisities of living.

Certainly, nobody would doubt the importance of the institutional instruction in skills. Having been trained in a trade, mainly if good work habits and promising opportunities go with it, the possibilities of a person's becoming a public charge are considerably weakened if not nullified. The juvenile delinquent, after having institutional treatment and equipped with these skills and habits, re-enters the free society with a fair chance of earning an income which can be spent freely at any rational pursuit of his self-interest. He may buy food for eating well, or clothing for good appearance, but, also, he may spend his income on alcohol, narcotics, or a knife to facilitate on act of violence. "The concern with rewards for performance rather than with worthy accomplishment itself or with success rather than with achievement among the largest segment of the population makes it clear that work is not viewed as an end itself."[12] Whether he utilizes his earned income for food or clothing, or for alcohol, narcotics or a knife, is strongly dependent on the motivating valuation of work in its societal context and his selection of success rewards for work performance, as attached to the trade-training by the vocational rehabilitation process. If he has been taught only the skills of a trade and has been equiped only with knowing how to apply effort to secure the financial conditions of living, this would leave the delinquent alone with alternatives to choose without instilled guidance as to the societal meaning of work and the value of different kinds of success.

Under these circumstances there is a rather dangerous chance for such youths; inadequate vocational rehabilitation may result in a lack of constructive ambitions or positive values. The only alternatives available must be destructive in nature. The workhouses and similar institutions of the past failed probably because of their teaching work without teaching what work should mean. Instruction in skills, if reduced to the goal of securing livelihood, would result in an individualistic compartmentalization of work so that the delinquent could not see beyond his personalized sphere. This is the youth who may know when to plant corn, how to lubricate a car, or what tool is to be used for shoe-soling, and cannot perceive and comprehend the meaning of his work and his role in working. He does not know that his work, whatever it may be, has social significance, and his production is part of his social role.

In other words, "rolelessness" may develop instead of "roleness"; because of his inadequate vocational rehabilitation the delinquent youth cannot determine his work-duties for his society, and so cannot identify those constructive roles he would otherwise play.

Most delinquents feel they have specialized roles to which they are socialized and which provide them with aspirations which are positive from the viewpoint of the subculture in which they are socialized, even if they appear to us negative and destructive in nature. Many delinquents come from "delinquent subcultures" where the delinquent activity is a dominant requirement for the role performance and work is understood only in terms of a source of pecuniary assistance to satisfy the subcultural aspirations. Cloward and Ohlin suggest that as long as the delinquent finds satisfaction in his associations with this subculture, the delinquent behavior can be expected to continue: "his actions are integrated with the actions of other members who rely on him to carry out his role."[14] As long as the delinquent works only to utilize a pecuniary source, he does not contribute to the organic solidarity of the society, but may exploit the fruits of his vocational rehabilitation for the ends of his subcultural ambitions and aspirations.

Given the roleless state, the delinquent's lack of recognition of the positive societal value of work prohibits the formation of the positive understanding of his labor; if the delinquent youth, thus, turns to destructive ambitions, this is then not so much a matter of choice among alternatives, but the only option available to him. It is naturally conceivable that there are delinquents who, even though they received adequate vocational rehabilitation and understand work, find that their problem-solving efforts are blocked and so engaged in delinquent behavior. Also, it is quite clear to the students of the delinquency problem that vocational rehabilitation is but one of the many factors which influence the presence or absence of delinquency. Generally speaking, however, most delinquents are recruited from the group of those who have never been taught to the understanding that work is not only for producing momentary means to secure the maintenance of an individual and to satisfy his individual aspirations, but, perhaps first of all, it is a functional expression of social solidarity. Many vocational rehabilitation processes fail because they teach only trade skills and habits, but miss to start the rebuilding with the conceptual foundations of work which have been often so grievously undermined in the delinquent subculture. "The most fundamental approach with the deprived person is to show him that ideas and theories have practical merit."[15]

As a general formula, work is not and cannot be isolated at any given time to any individual, unless it becomes meaningless. Work is an instrument of social solidarity and the way how to keep a group maintained and functional. At the same time, it is an instrument of social control in developing in the individual worker -- if he understands his work in this context -- the feeling of closer belonging to his society and thus responsibility for conformity to its value and norm system. The roleless delinquent, even after institutionalized, violates the norms not because he has been inadequately rehabilitated, but he may not violate the norms if an adequate vocational rehabilitation makes him understand what his work means to his society and what his working responsibility is for his society.

Both society and its rehabilitative institutions can draw no comfort from teaching trades to delinquents and offering them job opportunities -- without teaching him the importance of work and offering him this participation in the functioning of the society. Without that, work in its social significance and his role related to his work would appear to him as alien and external phenomena or concepts with which he is unfamiliar and the rationale of which is incomprehensible to him. The delinquent may know that his society expects him to work, he just does not know why. Vocational rehabilitation should not teach only trade skills and habits, and should not be content with finding opportunities and placing the former delinquent in a job, but, also, or perhaps primarily, should teach the youth to the understanding that work is not only an individual act but also a part of the social responsibility.

FOOTNOTES

1. Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer, Punishment and Social Structure, Columbia University Press, 1939, p.55.

2. Harry Elmer and Negley K. Teeters, New Horizons in Criminology, New York:Prentice-Hall, 1944, p.685.

3. The State of Prisons, etc., his famous book, now a classic, was first published in 1777 at his own expense; reprinted by E.P. Datton, Everyman's Library, New York, 1921.

4. R. Beermann, "The Parasite Law in the Soviet Union," British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 3, No. 1, July 1962, pp.71 - 80.

5. Winifred Al Elkin, The English Penal System, Hardmondsworth:Penguin, 1957, p.240.

6. Daniel Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, New York:Bobbs-Merrill, 1964, p.224.

7. Enoch C. Wines, State of Prisons, Cambridge, 1880, pp.75 - 77.

8. Barnes and Teeters, op. cit., p.907.

9. The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, A Report by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, U.S. Government Printing Office: Washington, D.C., p.163.

10. Ibid., p.176.

11. Ibid., p.75.

12. Ephraim Harold Mizruchi, Success and Opportunity, New York:Free Press of Glecoe, 1964, pp.148 - 149.

13. Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. by George Simpson, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1950.

14. Richard A. Cloward and Lloyd E. Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960, p.11.

15. Frank Riesman, "The Culture of the Underprivileged: A New Look," in Staten W. Webster, ed., Knowing the Disadvantaged, San Francisco: Chandler, 1966, p.60.

Chapter V

Legal Aspects of Delinquency

Implications for Rehabilitation

by Ted Rubin

Commentary

Judge Ted Rubin's paper should prove to be a milestone in the rehabilitation of the delinquent. It is a courageous presentation of a model for rehabilitation which is not only well conceptualized, but even more significant, Judge Rubin has applied these principles in his practice as a juvenile court judge. It may seem unusual that a judge rather than a rehabilitation specialist is pioneering in the rehabilitation of the delinquent, but in his paper Judge Rubin clearly points out that the juvenile court, in concept, has as one of its ideals, rehabilitation for the child.

However, the model, for a variety of reasons, has not worked well in this respect, and we are informed that vocational rehabilitation services have not basically entered into juvenile court rehabilitation programs. Fortunately, developments in recent years from two allied fields, mental health and mental retardation, point up the possibilities for the future in juvenile delinquency rehabilitation. Judge Rubin calls our attention to an interesting factor: namely, parents' groups, and other organizations have organized to speak out on behalf of the mentally ill and the mentally retarded. No such groups have spoken out for delinquent youth. Nevertheless, he asserts that a lot can be done if rehabilitation agencies, the juvenile court, and other services work together in developing effective approaches to reaching the delinquent.

The central thesis of Judge Rubin's presentation is, whereas in the past vocational rehabilitation services have not been utilized by the juvenile court, it is vital that the rehabilitation counselor and vocational rehabilitation join the rehabilitation team of the juvenile court. This concept represents a modern advance which may have challenging implications for the role of the juvenile court in the future. But Judge Rubin is not satisfied with vocational rehabilitation just joining the team. He insists that vocational rehabilitation must embark on an aggressive case finding approach to provide services not only for the delinquent, but for his family as well. Such an approach is a radical departure which many leaders in rehabilitation now feel is essential, regardless of the disability. It is a recognition of the impact of social systems upon the rehabilitation of the disabled client. Unfortunately, many rehabilitation counselors cannot see the importance of the social systems approach, or purposely choose to ignore its relevance.

Through such an expanded role, it would be possible for vocational rehabilitation to take a more diverse and creative route to rehabilitating the delinquent. As one example that Judge Rubin offers, it would be possible to prepare parents who are occupational failures to become respectable, consistent wage earners. A father not functioning as an adequate family provider is raising a potentially delinquent son.

We are just in the early phases of cooperative relationships between the juvenile court and vocational rehabilitation. As this tendency continues to grow, as grow it must, we can look forward to outstanding accomplishments. Successful outcomes as a result of rehabilitation partnerships have been a heart-warming story in the rehabilitation of all disabilities, whether they be physical, mental, or social.

Legal Aspects of Delinquency:

Juvenile Courts and Vocational Rehabilitation

The Juvenile Court, in concept, represents an ideal model for the official consideration of juvenile offenders: To remove juvenile law violators from the criminal court to a less traumatic setting so as to achieve I)Rehabilitation for the child, and 2) Protection to the community. Different judges and different communities have differing ideas as to which of these two objectives receives a higher priority.

The Juvenile Court is a secondary agency which generally receives children into its jurisdiction upon referral from police departments, parents, and educational and social agencies. It generally receives three to five per cent of a community's youthful population into its intake division each year. In contrast, a school represents a primary agency which by law serves virtually all children within its statutory age provisions.

Delinquency and criminal statistical research indicates that vastly more delinquency and crime occurs than is actually brought officially to the attention of the courts.[I] Full enforcement of laws would result in such vast numbers of prosecutions in juvenile and criminal courts that it would be virtually impossible to process, adjudicate, service, institutionalize, or rehabilitation so many offenders.[2]

[I] See Murphy, Shirley and Witmer, The Incidence of Hidden Delinquency, I6 Am. J. Orthopsychiatry (I946), 686-696, which reported as a "conservative estimate" that II4 underprivileged boys ages II-I5 years, admitted to 6,4I6 infractions of the law during a five year period while only 95 of these violations (less than I½%) had become a matter of official complaint. Also see the Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (I967) 2I 22.

[2] See Breitel, Controls in Criminal Law Enforcement, 27 U. Chi. L.R. 427 (I960) which states that under full enforcement, "...the criminal law would be ordered but intolerable."

At each stage of the juvenile and adult correctional process, discretion is exercised by police, prosecutors, courts, and post-sentence agency personnel as to whether or not known violators should be brought to official consideration. It is generally believed that police officers "lecture and release" in excess of 50 per cent of known violators without formal filing. The minor nature of the offenses, a previously "clean" record, apparent parental responsibility, community attitudes and practices, and the availability of other service agencies for the referral of these offenders, are all factors in the exercise of police discretion. District Attorneys exercise further discretion as to the decision to file and frequently decide not to prosécute for such reasons as insufficient evidence, a private settlement, the unwillingness of a complaining witness to testify. Many juvenile courts maintain intake divisions which screen out up to a third of the filings, settling these matters either by informal couseling, referral to other community agencies, or in recognition of insufficiency of evidence of non-severity of offense. Juvenile court judges represent a further screening step and may utilize the wide discretion given them to dismiss cases for similar reasons. Probation counselors frequently use informal methods to handle probation violations. For those children institutionalized in delinquency facilities, the institutional administration frequently handles violations by its inmates through internal discipline devices without further court filing. Juvenile parole administrations similarly adjust violations by parolees without suspension or revocation of parole or a new court filing.

The model of the juvenile court represented the effort to link legal process with the social sciences and helping services to provide a maximal rehabilitation effort with juvenile offenders. However, it has been clearly documented that probation staffs are often insufficiently trained and possess excessive case loads; that cooperating child placing agencies have insufficient foster home and group placement facilities available to assist the court in making the best arrangement for the particular child; that community mental health clinics are more willing to diagnose delinquent children than to treat them,[3] and that public clinic and private psychiatric and psychological skills have not been adapted affectively toward low income delinquent youth; that family counseling services are primarily oriented toward middle-class, motivated families and are not important adjuncts to juvenile court rehabilitation plans; that community centers and recreation agencies are not sufficiently geared toward meeting the needs of more "acting out" or more "acting in" delinquent youth; that schools have consistently refused to tool up and meet the basic needs of under-achieving, non-conforming delinquent youth; that job training programs have little tolerance for delinquent youth who are inconsistent in their attendance, performance, and proficiency in the training programs; that vocational rehabilitation services have not basically entered into juvenile court rehabilitation programs; that juvenile delinquency institutions are often seriously lacking in their program effectiveness with the youth they are to serve; and that juvenile parole agents are frequently limited to a control function. In short, although many children have undoubtedly been significantly aided by juvenile courts and allied agencies. far too many children have unnecessarily slipped through this process without really being helped, and have in fact been damaged.

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[3] See Teele and Levine, Acceptance of Emotionally Disturbed Children by Psychiatric Agencies, Howard University (I962).

Criticism of the juvenile correctional system has heightened in recent years. Researchers have cited the ineffectiveness of the rehabilitation methods used; lawyers and legal scholars have demonstrated that the courts and other components of the juvenile system have ignored legal and constitutional procedures in processing children; there has also been an expanded community concern over rising delinquency rates. In part, the evidence represents an affirmative reply to Judge Orman Ketcham's statement, ...have we not substituted "governmental for parental neglect?"[4]

Developments during the past five years from two allied fields point the directions for the future in juvenile delinquency work. I) Extended community mental health services have brought earlier and more effective treatment to persons suffering significant emotional disturbance. This, combined with more varied mental hospital programs such as the day hospital, family treatment groups, and after-care services including half-way houses, has reversed the trend toward "bigger and worse" state mental hospitals and has allowed thousands of persons to remain in the community or otherwise undergo briefer mental hospitalization. 2) Expanded community services for mentally retarded persons, including special public school classes, publicly subsidized private classrooms for the mentally retarded, shelterd workshops, parent counseling and other programs, have enabled vast numbers of mentally retarded persons to avoid long term custodial care in state mental retardation institutions. Both of these progressive movements have in part resulted from effective citizen groups which have increasingly spoken out for more enlightend treatment and a greater allocation of resources to better serve these client groups.

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4. Ketcham, The Unfulfilled Promise of the Juvenile Court, in Justice for the Child (Rosenheim-Ed.), 22, 27 (I962).

But to date, too few people have spoken out in behalf of youthful offenders. Their parents are not organized as are the parents of mentally retarded children, to lobby in their behalf. There is no organization of ex-youthful offenders, as with Alcoholics Anonymous, to work toward better laws and more intelligent consideration for the juvenile delinquent. Lawyers seldom appear in juvenile courts, so relatively few cases are brought to higher court attention and until very recently the movement toward the effective treatment of the juvenile offender has not had the powerful backing of the U. S. Supreme Court as with civil rights cases. Further, daily newspapers consistently undermine efforts for more intelligent treatment of youthful and adult offenders by demanding harsh handling and simplistic "solutions."

Despite this, progress is being made on many levels in preventing juvenile delinquency and in treating the offender. The Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, has, during the past five years, inaugurated myriad innovative and demonstration projects to aid such youth and to improve the training for personnel working in this field. The War on Poverty has made a beginning to involve the poor in their futures, thereby strengthening the child's family and neighborhood. Greater attention has been revited on the need to eradicate the urban slum and ghetto. Massive study effort by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, and by the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training are assessing serious problem areas and offer promise of improved and expanded methods of counterattack. The swelling number of professional persons in these and related fields are asking basic questions as to why we are not more effective with these youngsters and their families. The serious attacks on the welfare system express fundamental discouragement with this effort of the mid 1930's to eliminate massive social problems. The public school systems are increasingly under attack for their failures to effectively educate all children. High unemployment and the threat of more millions of unemployed persons due to automation and the ultimate termination of Viet Nam hostilities, point toward a further crisis that is of grave concern.

It is now clear: The juvenile courts will experience a legal renaissance whereby legal procedures will be adhered to more scrupulously in the future. This should not, however, negatively impair the important discretion which juvenile court judges have now regarding the treatment planning for a child offender. Community attitudes, despite occasional hysteria, generally tolerate minor deviations by a child (especially a middle class child) because he is a child and is not expected to adhere to as high a behavioral standard as an adult.

Within this space, it is incumbent that rehabilitation agencies, court staffs and other services develop improved measures to reach a child in the community without the necessity for his removal. That juvenile court does best which individualizes its youth to the fullest and which has the widest array of alternative counseling and placement services available for the needs of the particular child at the particular time. Except for the juvenile who murders, and some states even lift this exception, no mandatory sentences are required for a particular delinquency offense. Probation is the rule rather than the exception and once a decision is made to grant probation, the great opportunity to reach a child meaningfully is allowed. Although we think that youthful offenders, like adult offenders, "should have known better," a juvenile court judge, at least in jurisdictions of significant population, has far more choice in reaching his dispositional decision with the child. In contrast to the adult system where the alternatives are essentially probation, fine, or incarceration, the juvenile system can draw upon its better trained and less overburdened probation staff, the mental health services attached to larger city courts, community mental health clinics, private family service agencies, private and public group care facilities, volunteers, relative placements, youth opportunity centers, school social work services, private and public recreation agencies, and others, to join the ateempt to help the child.

Some states say, by statute, that one offense represents delinquency and allows a judge to remove a child from the community. Other states require more than one offense. However, every state requires that the best interest and welfare of the child should be a primary concern of the juvenile court. And the important point is that the judges are given wide latitude in seeking to effect rehabilitation.

In the past, Vocational Rehabilitation services have not in general been utilized with juvenile delinquents within the court's jurisdiction. They have been essentially limited to those who are paroled or otherwise released from delinquency institutions. Although the child's parents may receive services if they meet statutory and adminstrative requirements, it is this speaker's opinion that there has been an insufficient reaching out from Vocational Rehabilitation agencies toward these families, as well as insufficient clarification to juvenile court staffs as to the hospital availability of Vocational Rehabilitation agencies.

The question being asked is, if Vocational Rehabilitation waits until the post-institutional phase, might its services not be less effective than if they were offered earlier? The limitation in referring such youthful offenders to the rehabilitation department is limited only by present regulations and the absence of communication between these services. Can't we device ways to more totally rehabilitate a child and his family at the fist sign of trouble?

It is clear that the juvenile court should have the primary community responsibility for servicing juvenile delinquents. The departments of welfare are seen as having the same primary responsibility with dependent and neglected children. However, it is vital that Vocational Rehabilitation join the rehabilitation team of the juvenile court and aggressively widen its service provisions to the delinquent and his family. The particular role of Vocational Rehabilitation will need to be more clearly ascertained; but it should be. Such an expanded role could include:

I. Provide half-way houses for young delinquent whose chance for rehabilitation will be greatly enhanced if they are temporarily removed from less-than-adequate-homes, but whose offense against society and whose personal needs do not warrant correctional institutionalization.

2. Provide special pre-vocational opportunities and education for those children whose regular school experiences have not been geard to their needs, interests, and abilities, and who will almost certainly become first dropouts, and then unemployable or underemployable.

3. Expose under-motivated and perhaps cynical young delinquents to vocational opportunities for which they can prepare themselves, but the existence of which were either previously unknown to them, or -in their eyes unobtainable.

4. Assist young delinquents in establishing for themselves realistic vocational goals. Many delinquents either see themselves as being automatically shut out from tomorrow's job market, or they establish for themselves such high aspirations that at some point they must recognize the fact that in "shooting for the moon", they have failed to prepare themselves for that which is obtainable.

5. Prepare parents who are occupational failures to become respectable, consistent wage earners. A father who is not functioning as an adequate family provider is a father who is raising a potentially delinquent son. A depressed and impoverished mother is a mother who is raising a potentially delinquent child. These people may not come to your Vocational Rehabilitation office. You must find a way to go out to them.

As society has become more complex, the services provided by many agencies have proliferated with frequent non-coordination and chaos. But there is no reason why all of us cannot talk better with each other and work better with each other to score higher when we measure how good a job we are really doing.

Chapter VI

Practical Applications

Successful Programs in Rehabilitating the Delinquent

Commentary

This institute would not be complete without an account of some successful approaches to the rehabilitation of the delinquent. The participants were impressed not only with the description of these programs, but also with the enthusiasm and dedication of those presenting their projects. They demonstrated quite vividly that commitment, intense ego involvement, call it what you will, is essential for successful rehabilitation with most difficult clientele. The projects were innovative and yet they were not in the sense that many of these ideas have been around for a long time. Nevertheless, the daring displayed in initiating these programs and the ingenuity shown in their implementation suggests that these are examples of creativity in problem solving.

The family court team idea described by the panel consisting of the team itself (the family court judge, the probation officer, the rehabilitation counselor, and the district vocational rehabilitation supervisor) brings home forcefully the effectiveness of the team approach when it is really operational. There is much talk in rehabilitation about the need for a team approach, and so little practice of team effort. It is refreshing, therefore, to hear about one that is really working. Their statistics corroborate their contention.

Quite unique in this project is the establishment of a student social service unit in an agency without an ongoing program. It demonstrates again that old adage that "necessity is the mother of invention." Those in rehabilitation as well as the health and welfare field in general will always be confronted by personnel shortages, financial difficulties, and equipment and facility lacks. Consequently, there must be a readiness to show ability to be flexible and creative so that our programs will not suffer by these obstacles.

The Springfield Goodwill Industry's program represents a different approach than the Rhode Island Family Court Team.

The interesting feature of this project is that a community organization has taken the initiative to mobilize community resources for the rehabilitation of the delinquent. Furthermore, it is a comprehensive vocational rehabilitation program embracing testing and evaluation, prevocational work adjustment, on the job training, and involvement of community support to maintain the rehabilitation of the delinquent in the community. The Springfield Goodwill's pursuit toward rehabilitation goals is another example of a team endeavor. However, the key factor here is that one organization serves as the central significant organization in carrying out the rehabilitation plan while other agencies either serve as referral agents or provide collaborative services as necessary.

Although this agency feels that the program is effective, it does not choose to stand still on its laurels. The mark of a qualitative program is a willingness to continually improve its programs despite a high incidence of successful experience. Thus, the report reveals that Springfield Goodwill has taken stock of its assets and deficits and has made specific recommendations to enhance their program. Constructive self evaluation is healthy for ensuring auspiciously favorable rehabilitation outcomes.

The Family Court Team in Rhode Island

The relationship of the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation with the Rhode Island Family Court began on an informal basis in 1958. At that time, referrals were received from the Court by agency personnel and were processed in the normal manner.

While working with these juveniles, the rehabilitation counselors noticed that similar roadblocks to successful rehabilitation kept appearing. The success rate with this type of case was not too high, and counselors were constantly frustrated in their attempts at rehabilitation with these clients. The probation counselors and court personnel were also running into similar difficulties. Much discussion took place among those concerned, and it was the consensus that the parents of the clients were integral figures in the rehabilitation planning. Most of the juveniles came from broken or extremely stressful home situations, and the maladjustment of many of the parents seemed to be contributing to the maladjustment of the children. Therefore, it was felt that the team approach would be the ideal manner for evaluating and recommending treatment programs for the clients and their families. By combining probation counselors and rehabilitation counselors along with a psychiatrist and psychiatric social worker, the Agency could provide a multi-disciplined team which could effectively deal with the social, psychological, medical and vocational problems of the clients and their families. As a result, the Vocational Rehabilitation - Family Court Team was established in 1962.

The Team presently consists of a psychiatrist, a vocational rehabilitation supervisor, two rehabilitation counselors (male and female) and a psychiatric social worker. The probation counselor for the particular client being discussed always attends the meeting along with any other professionals who are involved with the client and his family. The Family Court Judge who referred the particular client and the Chief Judge are also invited to attend the meeting.

The psychiatrist, after interviewing the client privately, provides his clinical impressions of the client, and of the parents who are seen by the entire Team. His knowledge of psycho-dynamics and psychopathology adds a good deal of professional depth to the Team in its discussion and recommendations.

The psychiatric social worker is a valuable asset in diagnosing the sociological problems of the family and also in treating these problems along witn psychological difficulties. The social worker usually becomes involved with the client's family prior to the Team discussion. A complete social-medical history is taken, and this is presented in summary form at the Team meeting. When casework is recommended for one or both parents, which happens frequently, the social worker provides this indispensable service. The social worker is also an integral person in arranging services for the family through other social agencies. While providing casework for the parents, the social worker keeps in constant touch with the rehabilitation counselor working with the client.

There is also a student social service unit, under the direct supervision of a trained professional, in the Vocational Rehabilitation agency. The unit is jointly sponsored by Boston College and Simmons College, making use of Vocational Rehabilitation grants to provide traineeships for graduate students. The unit was established in 1961 with an intention to provide more adequate field work instruction in rehabilitation agencies for their social work students and also to identify rehabilitation concepts which should be integrated into the curriculum of a school of social work. This was the first time that the cooperating schools had established a unit in an agency without an on-going social work program. The student unit operated on the principle that social work would facilitate the client's use of Vocational Rehabilitation services. This unit has been of invaluable assistance to the Agency as a whole and to the Family Court Team in particular. The students' function is the same as that of the psychiatric social worker, and they fill a tremendous gap due to the large number of referrals to the Team and the time limitation on the psychiatric social worker. When the Team has been without a social worker, as is the case at the present, the case work and diagnostic services provided by the students have enabled the Team to continue to function adequately. Therefore, the students have successfully augmented and at times assumed the services provided by the psychiatric social worker.

There are two rehabilitation counselors who work with the Family Court and function as members of the Team. There is a male counselor who works with the boys and a female counselor who works with the girls. Both of these people provide intensive counseling for their clients and also work closely with the other Team members in coordinating services for the clients and their families. These two people along with the social worker and psychiatrist are the core members of the Family Court Team which has so effectively dealt with the multiple problems of these juveniles.

The Vocational Rehabilitation supervisor coordinates the activities of the Team and each week summarizes the Team discussion and recommendations for distribution to the members and court personnel.

The program serves boys and girls 14 to 18 years of age brought before the Family Court and who are either physically or emotionally disabled. Although working with all eligible juveniles, the Team is primarily concerned with first offenders because of its interest in reversing the delinquency process in these particular juveniles. The goal of the program has been and will continue to be the provision of a full professional team approach in evaluating problems and and potentials and in planning the kinds of restorative and training services best suited to these clients. The program extends intensive treatment and counseling for the client along with social casework for both the client and his family. The Team also gives a more complete view of the juveniles' problems to the rehabilitation and probation counselors.

The Family Court Team re-emphasizes and demonstrates the interest of the Rhode Island Division of Vocational Rehabilitation in "PREVENTIVE" rehabilitation. Through this Team and even more dramatically, through its School Project, the Division has shown how early detection and treatment of physical and emotional problems can help the adolescent to avoid a life of personal, social, vocational, and occupational maladjustment.

The services of the Team as a whole are primarily consultative to the special area of juvenile delinquency and in particular to the individual rehabilitation counselors working with the young clients. Inasmuch as the Team members are studying the client and the problems with which he is involved, there is some involvement in the diagnostic area. However, the main responsibility of the Team is to provide the counselor with a greater awareness of the total problems involved and also to help him plan a treatment program that is comprehensive and effective. When a program has been initiated for the client, the Team members continue to consult with the rehabilitation counselor in order to review the progress that the client may be making, or the problems which may be evolving and furnish him professional advice on how to best relate these developments. The same advice-giving and consultation is provided the psychiatric social worker who might be encountering obstacles while attempting to work with the client's family. In fact, as a matter of Team policy, the counselors and social worker periodically report on the progress or current status of all clients who have been before the Team. If there seems to be a need for detailed discussion and client contact, the Team will recommend that the client and his family come to a future Team meeting. In this way there is a continuous evaluation and consultation on a Team case until the rehabilitation objective has been achieved. Even at that time there is a final review of the client's situation before the case is "closed rehabilitated."

The majority of referrals to the Family Court Team are made by Family Court judges when a child appears before them for a misdemeanor. They are keenly aware of the multiple problems of these youngsters and quite astutely, they recognize the particular cases which can benefit from the services provided by the special Team and the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation. The probation counselors, upon becoming familiar with the function of the Team, also made many referrals.

Once referral has been made to Vocational Rehabilitation, the counselor arranges for the client and his parents to come in for an interview. At that time they are advised of the Team and its function. They are also advised that the social worker will contact them for an appointment. They counselor also indicates to them that a general medical examination and projective testing will be authorized for the client. When all the diagnostic studies have been completed, they will be contacted for an appointment for the Team meeting.

In addition to the above information, the counselor sends for school records and also attempts to contact teachers in order to gain their impressions.

When all the above-mentioned material has been obtained, the counselor sets the date for Team discussion of the client's case. At the same time, the counselor contacts the probation counselor and all other individuals in order to insure that they will be able to attend the meeting. Through experience, it has been found that by involving all interested parties, the Team discussion is more fruitful and complete. In addition to this personal contact, all interested parties also receive a copy of the Team agenda at least a week in advance.

The Team meets once a week for four hours and usually discusses no more than two new cases because at least two hours are required to present background material, interview the client and his parents and make appropriate recommendations. Initially the Team had attempted to see four new referrals each week, but found that they just couldn't adequately deal with that many cases in the time alloted.

The team recommendations are interpreted to the client and his family by the rehabilitation counselor and/or social worker after the Team meeting has taken place.

Since the majority of the young clients have some sort of emotional problem, the recommendation is usually intensive psychotherapy and supportive counseling, Day Care, residential placement, and concomitant casework services for the parents. In many cases, it is found that the child is simply reacting to the emotional problems of his parents who are sometimes severely disturbed. In these instances, referral to Vocational Rehabilitation is recommended along with supportive counseling for the child.

In September of 1966 it was reported that forty of the boys and girls, who had been evaluated by the Team, had been rehabilitated into employment and many more to school adjustment during fiscal 1966. It was also reported that more than two hundred adolescents were receiving such services as psychiatric treatment, physical restoration services, guidance, counseling, vocational testing, and vocational training. It was also noted that the Team had worked with fifty families to bring about a better relationship between juvenile delinquents and their parents.

During the current fiscal year, the Team did not reorganize until November, and at the present writing, the Team has worked with sixteen clients. They have been handicapped by the lack of a social worker, but they have been able to utilize the members of the student unit in working with most of these cases. However, it is hoped that a social worker will be found in the near future because the students are necessarily limited in the number of cases which they can work with.

It is the feeling of most people who have been associated with the Team that it has been effective in dealing with the multiple problems of disabled youth. It is also felt that the Team can be made more effective and, in time, it is hoped that this will be accomplished. The ideal situation has been described in this report. In actuality, the two counselors who work with the Team are overloaded with cases and, as a result, the amount of counseling which they can provide is somewhat limited. The fact that the Team is without a social worker also is a limiting factor. Both of these factors tend to limit the effectiveness of the Team. These situations should be remedied in the near future by the addition of the required personnel.

THE SPRINGFIELD GOODWILL INDUSTRIES'

PROGRAM FOR THE REHABILITATION OF YOUTHFUL OFFENDERS

I. Purposes and Objectives

Springfield Goodwill Industries' acknowledgement of and genuine concern for juvenile delinquency represents a unique extension of rehabilitation services. At the time of inception no other Goodwill Industries in the nation had developed a program designed to offer delinquents prevocational work adjustment.

When consideration was first given to a possible rehabilitation program for youthful offenders, it was learned through surveys that delinquents were in dire need of attention. It was further indicated that little had been done to rehabilitate the delinquent by other community agencies through work programs. In addition, Springfield court records and statistics revealed that there was a relatively high rate of recidivism among delinquents in the Springfield area.

The purpose of the proposed program was to develop a methodology to improve the stability of employment and significantly reduce the recidivism of youthful offenders. The Springfield Goodwill Industries' concept of the need to work with the delinquent was recognized by the federal government when the following objectives were formulated and proposed.

(a) Provision of vocational evaluation and on-the-job training for youths who have violated the law and are under the jurisdiction of the courts. The mobilization of resources in the community for support, assistance, and participation in the rehabilitation of youthful offenders. An analysis of environmental, interpersonal and personality relationships with others, productivity in the work situation and adjustment to standards of the community.

II. Environment of setting conducive to Rehabilitation

To be involved in the study, it was determined that an individual had to have a police record and be 16 to 21 years of age. The majority of youths were referred to Springfield Goodwill by other agencies in the community. The youthful offender was initially absorbed into an on-going industrial installation which, at that time, employed approximately 300 persons. The following activities were included: general laundry work, textiles, shoe repair, small electrical appliance repair, heavy electrical appliance repair, woodworking, furniture reapir, upholstery, radio and television repair, sub-contract work for various manufacturers.

III. Method of Rehabilitation within this Environment

The methodology used to accomplish the aforementioned objectives included: recruitment, intake, development of case histories, psychological evaluation, vocational evaluation, planning a program for the client, individual counseling, group counseling, placement, follow-up activities, community involvement and support, and on-the-job training.

A wealth of information would be obtained on each youthful offender and later used as a guide to determine if any general patterns emerged.

IV. A Youthful Offender demonstration or pilot project exploring the advantages of a prevocational work adjustment training concept.
(Previous Project 1½ year duration 1964-66)

(a) Overview of procedures and subsequent findings.

Having considered the objectives, the environment and the method of rehabilitation for the pilot program, the rehabilitation staff concentrated on the exploration of the advantages of a prevocational work adjustment training concept.

Prevocational work adjustment is achieved at that point when the youthful offender has adjusted to the general work situation and has developed proper work traits of workers.

Data was obtained on characteristics of the youthful offenders in the following categories:

An overview of the general characteristics of the 67 youthful offenders warrants that these youths be termed juvenile delinquents. Their ages range from 14 to 23 and all were found guilty of at least one crime. Analysis of other characteristics revealed the following:

1. A total of 19% of the 67 clients were Negro and 81% were White. The percentage of 19 is considered a fair representation of the number of court referrals who are Negro.

2. A total of 27% were born out of state and 73% were born in Massachusetts.

3. A total of 48% were from lower class neighborhoods; 34% from middle class neighborhoods; and 18% had no permanent place of residence.

4. The mean age of inception of crime was 15.5; the range 12 to 20 years of age. Crimes against property were the most frequent. Major crimes were auto theft, burglary and larceny.

5. A total of 22 youthful offenders were handicapped because of injuries received in auto accidents, convulsive disorders, brain damage and emotional disturbances.

(b) Conclusions

There was little difficulty in securing jobs for the youthful offenders. It is believed that this was due in large measure to the support that the project provided the youthful offender and his employer. With the method of operation employed by the project staff, it was found that the youths who completed the program stayed on the job for at least six months. Less recidivism accompanied this relatively stable employment. The effectiveness of the program is further substantiated by the higher recidivism of youths who dropped out of the program.

It is concluded that work adjustment is a necessary phase in the vocational rehabilitation of the youthful offender. Appropriate work habits were far less developed in those youths who left the program following work evaluation.

Conclusions regarding the general characteristics of these youths are the following:

1. The youthful offenders have a low tolerance for interpersonal relationships. The offender will communicate with others on a superficial level and involve himself in self-oriented activity.

2. The school and home ineffective with these youthful offenders in terms of their ability to transmit educational values and ideals.

3. Masculine identification was not available in the families of the 67 delinquents enrolled in the program. In most cases the father was either not present or very weak in relation to the female figure of the household.

(c) Recommendations

Results indicate that those who remained in the program and those who dropped out were significantly differentiated in terms of birthplace, neighborhood, and in the types of previous crimes committed. Those who dropped out of the program were highly mobile in terms of place of residence, lived in lower class neighborhoods, and tended to commit more crimes that were classified as disturbances of the peace, sex offense, stubborn child and truancy. In the future these individuals who have these characteristics should be worked with more closely in an attempt to prevent their dropping out. Recommendations for further study include the following:

1. Family orientation: Frequent home visits should be made in order that the parents become involved in the rehabilitation of their youngster. Exploration of the effectiveness of group counseling is also suggested.

2. Involvement with supervisors: The methods supervisors use in handling the youthful offenders should be explored.

3. Establishment of new referral sources: Possible referral sources for the future include County Sherrif Offices, Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission, Juvenile Delinquency Commission and Community Juvenile Police Bureau.

4. Testing: Incorporation of other test batteries as determined by staff consultants.

5. Job development: Institute bi-weekly visits to the unit by personnel managers of local industry and obtain specifications on employment openings for preplacement work experiences.

V. A current Youthful Offender Project proposing a prototype project applicable to all communities dealing with the training, employment, reduction of recidivism of the youthful offender.

In addition to the previous program, we are exploring the most effective means of developing family involvement in the program and, thereby, providing additional support to the youthful offender. Development of family involvement has already entered its fourth and final stage. Those stages used to develop family support to the youthful offenders are as follows:

(a) Home visits were made weekly to the parents or guardians to gain support for the program.

(b) A personal interview with the parent or guardian at the Goodwill location during designated hours to further support the value of the program.

(c) Bi-monthly parent group meetings designed to increase mutual support of their son or daughter involved in the youthful offender program.

(d) The separation of fathers and mothers into two different groups designed for their development of a role which would be conducive to their son's or daughter's rehabilitation.

An all-new experiemental and demonstration feature of this current project relates to developing relationships between youthful offenders and supervisors. Results from our previous project seem to indicate that once a youth establishes an interpersonal relationship with a supervisor he also acquires acceptable work traits. The following procedures have been initiated in order that this objective may be achieved.

Phase I. Evaluation and Testing: The assimilated tasks are administered during the first week of the client's enrollment. These tasks continue to consist of sorting, assembly, packing, ins epction and clerical tasks. They are administered to all new enrollees by the Vocational Evaluator. The test battery remains the same, i.e., Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale, Picture Interest Inventory, Task of Emotional Development Test, and the Draw-A-Person Test. These psychological and vocational interest tests are administered by the Vocational Counselors during the first week the client is enrolled in the project.

Phase II. Work adjustment: Initially the youthful offenders in the current project were placed in four different departments - five days each - as part of their work evaluation. This phase of the evaluation has been postponed until after the necessary work adjustment period. Reasons for changes in procedure include:

1. The establishment of an interpersonal relationship between client and supervisor was prevented by recurrent changes in department placement.
2. The evaluation procedure (placement in four different departments) seemed to reinforce previous work behaviors of going from one job to another, and thereby increase job mobility and also job instability.
3. It was deemed that the warm interpersonal relationship between the youthful offender and supervisor should be established as soon as possible. Therefore, clients are placed in a department closely related to his long-range vocational goals.

Phase III. Post Evaluation: When youthful offenders have completed work adjustment training and have been judged to be capable of holding an on-the-job training position, he is then assigned to four different departments in Goodwill. The purpose of this is to obtain research data and to see if that youth can take different kinds of supervision.

Phase IV. On-the-Job-Training - The youthful offenders subsequently placed in on-the-job training position in competitive industry within the community.

First Project Statistics:

Total Enrolled in Project

Female - 2 Male - 65

Age: 16-17 - 19
18-21 - 45
22-23 - 3

Race: White - 54
Negro - 13

Education:
Special Classes - 5
6-8 - 30
9-12 - 32

Remained in program on-The-Job training, employment or returned to school. - 44

Dropouts - 22 (19 of the dropouts incurred recidivism)

Sources of referral - District Court

CURRENT PROJECT

VI. STATISTICS

1. Total enrolled in Project: 37

Female - 3 Male - 34

Age: 16-17 - 19
18-21 - 15
22 - 3

Race: White - 24
Negro - 13

Education:
Special Classes - 5
1-4 - 1
5-8 - 11
9-12 - 20

Head of Household: 5

Welfare Recipient: 1

In Goodwill Evaluation - Work Adjustment - 24
On-the-Job-Training - 3
Hospitalized - 1
Violation of Probation - 3
Working - 2
Dropouts - 4

Sources of Referral:

Superior Court - 12
District Court - 7
Youth Service Board- 7
Parole Officers - 1
Conn. Rehab. Bureau- 1
Youth Opportunity - 9

Chapter VII

The Juvenile Court and Vocational Rehabilitation - Possibilities of Corporative Relationships

By Dorothy Singer

My comments this afternoon are designed to provide you with a greater familiarity on the various special granting programs in the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. It is our hope that one of these approaches may prove effective for you in launching services for the juvenile delinquent and the youthful offender in you State. Most of what I shall be saying has been voiced by Miss Switzer, Mr. Hunt and others in the Vocational Rehabilitaion Administraiton -- but I believe that a review of these special granting programs may help you move along at a more rapid pace when you return to your own communities and begin your program planning.

The four grant programs I shall describe are 1) Expansion grants, 2) Research and Demonstration Grants 3) Innovation Grants and 4) Cooperative Agreements. Although I shall be discussing special grant programs, I do not wish to leave an impression with you that services to the youthful offender or delinquent can only be provided by a specially funded project.

Since the inception of the public vocational rehabiliation program, there have been many disabled persons served who could be classified as "public offenders." Many state agencies have accepted offenders as clients in providing itinerant visits to correctional institutions by vocational rehabilitaion counselors. In addition, many persons who are technically in this group are declared eligible for vocational rehabilitation services and therefore served under another disability category. Included here would be many of the alcoholics and narcotic addicts. Nevertheless, until the last four years, no state rehabilitation agency has systematically undertaken to serve the offender group as such in a comprehensive manner.

The recent years have witnessed a remarkable upsurge of interest in vocational rehabilitation services to this group. In these past four years, the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration has funded approximately 30 projects in which the public offender was the focus of the study. These projects utilize a wide range of special techniques varying from the installation of vocational rehabilitation units in reformatories and prisons to the use of surgical procedures to aid the rehabilitation of disabled offenders. Currently underway is a series of coordinated research projects developed in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Prisons to determine the appropriate time for intervention of the vocational rehabilitation counselor in the correctional process. These projects represent probably one of the largest efforts on the part of the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration to study intensively one particular group.

I mention these projects because I believe you can see that the emphasis has been for the most part on the adult offender. It is rather interesting that this conference is the first of its kind in which we are attempting to develop a dialogue between the juvenile court judge, his staff, and the vocational rehabilitation agency. We hope that the proceedings of this conference will be the catalyst for many more conferences throughout the country and eventually an integration of vocational rehabilitation services into the juvenile court system. I want to assure you that the limited activity to date does not, in any way, indicate "policy" on the part of the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. We shall be happy to entertain your innovative or creative ideas for programs relating to the vocational rehabilitation of the juvenile delinquent.

I shall describe first the Expansion Grants which was the method of funding utilized for Judge Rubin's project which he presented this morning. The 1965

Amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act include authority for Federal grants to pay part of the cost of projects which will expand services to the disabled -- where this promises a substantial increase in the number of persons vocationally rehabilitated. This exciting new authority permits both State vocational rehabilitation agencies and other public and private non-profit organizations to undertake a direct expansion of services to the vocationally handicapped.

The major emphasis of Expansion projects must be on service projects which will lead to an increase in the number of persons rehabilitated. We are particularly interested in those projects emphasizing increased services to persons with heart disease, cancer, and stroke, -- also projects which will provide increased services to the disabled in prisons or those who are involved in public offenses and finally projects which are designed to meet the needs of young, disabled individuals.

It is evident that projects for the juvenile delinquent do meet the criteria, in two instances, for Expansion Grants. Some of the programs which have been funded under Expansion Grants have been programs between the school system and the vocational rehabilitation agency -- or the rehabilitation agency and a welfare department. We have established vocational evaluation units making possible the employment of additional staff in a workshop or rehabilitation facility under Expansion Grants. It is possible to develop a project involving the schools, the juvenile court, and the vocational rehabilitation agency. I think you can see from the few programs I have .tioned that there is a variety of ways you can be effective in promoting the vocational rehabilitation of the juvenile delinquent by meshing the efforts of different community agencies.

By law, there are certain restrictions regarding Expansion Grant monies. The funds cannot be used for the construction or a substantial alteration of rehabilitation facilities, workshops, or other buildings. Research and staff training are not acceptable budget items.

Of considerable interest to you, of course, is the ratio of matching funds. These are on a 90-10 basis, 90 per cent Federal and 10 per cent matched by the applicant. Expansion grants may be funded up to three years.

If the applicant of an Expansion Grant is not a state rehabilitation agency, the application must have the approval and recommendation of the state agency which must indicate how the proposed project will expand the number of persons being vocationally rehabilitated. You can obtain the applications and guidelines from your state rehabilitation agency. We urge all potential applicants to work closely with their state agency in developing special projects. When the application is in final form, it is submitted to the Regional Office for our review and approval. In evaluating a request for an Expansion Grant we would study the project in relation to other programs in the state and the region giving full consideration to program needs and disability groups. An expansion grant application can be filed at any time during the year.Our review in the Regional Office usually takes from four to six weeks, assuming that there are not numerous revisions necessary.

Next, let us talk about our Research and Demonstration Grant Program. This program also provides partial support for projects which we believe hold promise of making a contribution to the solution of vocational rehabilitation problems which may be common to many states. The studies may, as with Expansion Grants, be located in a variety of settings such as schools, workshops, reformatories, houseing projects, and juvenile courts.

The major principle in the research and demonstration program is to discover new principles and concepts basic to the understanding of the rehabiliaation process and then to translate this knowledge into approved services. There are three types of grants available: research, demonstration, and special facilities for two or more states. I believe the demonstration grant is most pertinent to us today. The criteria for the demonstration grant is that (1) the proposed service is new -- or is in a setting that has not been explored before; (2) the procedures you are attempting to demonstrate can be generalized and are applicable to other settings;(3) the proposed procedure is not only new but desirable; and finally; (4) the project plan provides for a systematic evaluation of the effectiveness of the proposed procedures. I think it is the last point which sometimes surprises some of our applicants who believe that because a project is a demonstration project, the research component for evaluating the procedure is unnecessary.

Because of the broad nature and requirements of the national rehabilitation program, projects are approved in a wide range of areas including psychology, sociology, economics, social work, and community organization.

All applications which provide direct service to handicapped persons must have the prior approval of the director of the state rehabilitation agency. Therefore, we recommend early planning and consultation with the state rehabilitation agency. There is nothing more annoying to the state director than having a person arrive at the director's door the last day before a filing deadline, and asking him to please sign his project "now" because he has to have his application in Washington the following day. Another practice we still see, though less frequently, is the agency which develops a research and demonstration grant which provides for a state agency counselor on the staff and yet there has been no communication between the applicant and the state director. We do urge, whenever possible, that the rehabilitation counselors on a project be from the state agency. We believe this is one way of insuring cooperative work between the two agencies and a method of integrating this service into an ongoing program of the rehabilitation agency when the project is completed.

The ratio of Federal to applicant funds is not stated in our legislation, but at the present time applicant support ranges from 10 to 25 per cent. One final note -- the staff in the Regional Office is available to you for consultation on research and demonstration grants. We shall be happy to make available to you the guidelines and the application forms. Usually the applicant submits a draft to us for our comments and we may meet two or three times before the final draft is ready to go to Washington.

The next type of grant is called the Innovation Grant and is available to the state rehabilitation agency only. Innovation grants are authorized under Section 3 of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. The Innovation Grant is to be used as the name implies -- to provide an innovative or creative program. This allows the state agency to test out or try new types of service programs without having to reduce the funds for the ongoing rehabilitation programs. It is anticipated that states will vary in the kinds of programs they develop because of the differences which may already exist in their programs. The Innovative Grants provide the opportunity of developing programs over and above what the rehabilitation agency is currently sponsoring not just to expand their present activities. Although it is to be new and innovative, the agency must present a series of planned activities in terms of the organization, staffing, and standards of services.

The Innovation Grants must be focused on projects for the severely disabled such as those with heart, cancer, and stroke -- or the cerebral palsied, deaf, or deaf blind -- retarded blind -- and this is of importance to you -- projects which might provide an evaluation unit in a state penal institution, or possibly a rehabilitation unit in a housing project or some similar type of poverty setting. The Connecticut Division of Vocational Rehabilitation has an Innovation Grant which is providing evaluation services to the inmates in the jails of Hartford.

Innovation Grants are of five year's duration. In certain states, not all of the innovation monies have been utilized which is something you may wish to be aware of in your planning with the state rehabilitation director. I say this to both the judges and probation officers as well as the rehabilitation people present who are frequently faced with the unmet needs in the field.

Finally and last we come to the Cooperative Agreements. This is based on the principle of third party funds. There is no special language for third party funds -- there is no magic to third party funds, but the use of third party funds does involve considerable innovation in government since it means having agencies working together in new patterns of administration which don't fit into normal bureaucratic programming and operations.

We are discussing a device for earning the unused Federal vocational rehabilitation funds. Since they are Federal vocation rehabilitation funds, they must be spent under the supervision of the vocational rehabilitation agency and according to the approved State Plan. In other words, the money must be spent for the services the vocational rehabilitation agency can normally provide. Let us take an example of how the Federal funds might be earned through a cooperative agreement between the vocational rehabilitation agency and a state school for the retarded. Since I had the experience of developing one in that type of setting, I'd like to use that as an illustration. In this particular school there was a partial vocational rehabilitation program -- partial in the sense that superivisors of the school industries were assuming responsibility for training residents with the goal of training them so that they might eventually move into employment in the community. Although there were work supervisors, there was no staff available for coordinating these work areas,no method of structuring the work program with an increasing and intensification of the work program and of evaluating the students in the work program. There was no social worker available to work with the families in planning for the resident's return to the community -- and there were no funds for specialized training following their release. In addition, the one rehabilitation counselor was so burdened with "in- house" activities, that he could not develop the necessary community resources for traveling and for job placement.

The state school and the rehabilitation agency developed a narrative describing the diagnostic and evaluation services, the training within the school's industries, counseling, parent counseling, job try-outs in the community and placement. The role and responsibilities of each agency were clearly delineated.

We were able to identify the amount of time the work supervisors were engaged in vocational reaabilitation training -- the time the Director of Education and Training was spending in specific rehabilitation activities and the vocational rehabilitation counselor's time. We also determined the amount of time the occupational therapist devoted to pre-vocational evaluations and the psychologist's time in administering psychological evaluations to determine vocational potential.

The value of all these services approximately $15,000. This was certified by the superintendent of the state school in agreement with the state rehabilitation agency director. These $15,000 of state funds -- or third party funds could earn the unused Federal vocational rehabilitation funds at the same ratio as other Section 2 funds, that is, three to one or $45,000 for the $15,000. This $45,000 goes to the state rehabilitation agency for the particular vocational rehabilitation program at the state school. The money allowed the division of vocational rehabiliation to employ the coordinator of a vocational rehabilitation unit in the state school, a full time rehabilitation counselor, a part time social worker, and funds to purchase all the other necessary services such as training, speech reading, (which we found to be needed by many of the residents who had marked hearing losses) and any additional physical restoration services. As you can see, this is a somewhat unique approach to the utilization of Federal funds which is made possible in those states where the legislature has not appropriated sufficient funds to earn all the Federal money allocated to a state.

In Region I this year only Connecticut and Rhode Island are earning all of their Federal monies through state appropriation. I urge you to pursue the opportunities possible under cooperative agreements.

APPENDIX

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A very sincere thanks to the following people who gave so willingly of their time as a member of the Planning Committee for this Institute.

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